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NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING THE

HISTORY AND LIVES

OF

THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812;

COMPRISING

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS OMITTED BY DR. CAMPBELL; LIKEWISE OF NAVAL CAPTAINS AND OTHER OFFICERS WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THEIR COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

CONTINUED.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Union of the two Kingdoms to the End of the Reign of her Majesty Queen Anne.

MEMOIRS OF SIR RALPH DELAVAL, KNT.

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE RED, &c.

IT is a misfortune, which we must be content to deplore without hopes of redress, since it is a misfortune flowing from liberty, that in all free countries the greatest men are liable to be sacrificed to clamour; and innocence is not always a security against the shafts of envy. This was the case of the gentleman of whom we are now to speak, and who, in the short space of one single summer, was in the highest credit, lost it, and was actually laid aside: so fluctuating a thing is human happiness; so fickle a possession is popularity, and so little to be depended on a prince's favour! These are the reflections that will naturally arise on the reading the memoirs of our admiral; and they are premised only to shew, that I think as the reader does, and do not believe myself obliged to follow the humours of those, who have treated his memory with the same prejudice with which they pursued him living.

Sir Ralph Delaval was the son of a worthy gentleman in the north of England, of the same name, distinguished for his loyalty to King Charles I. and King Charles II. and to whose house General Lesley had leave given him by Cromwell to retire, after the fatal battle of Worcester. Mr. Ralph Delaval came very early into the navy, under the protection of the duke of York, who treated him with great kindness, and took care he should not lose his turn in preferment. By this means it was, that he came to be captain of the York, a third rate man of war, in which station the Revolution found him.

He concurred heartily in that great change, though he had no hand in making it; and, therefore, King William, who was a prince of great penetration, soon promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and at the same time conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; in this station he served under the earl of Torrington, in the famous battle off Beachy-Head, in which the English and Dutch fleets were beat by the French on the 30th of June, 1690; but without any impeachment of his own character, either in point of courage or conduct, as appears plainly by his being appointed president of the court-martial which tried the earl, and which sat on board the Kent, on the 10th of December in the same year, and in which he was unanimously acquitted; and, if I mistake not, the share he had in that affair subjected him to the hatred of a certain set of men ever after; but that he was in reality no way to blame, will appear by his being immediately after declared vice-admiral of the blue by King William, in which station he served, the next year, under Admiral Russel; and, in the winter of the same year, was appointed to command a squadron in the Soundings; where, if he did little, it was owing to the bad season of the year, and contrary winds, by which he was four times beat back into Torbay; however, he punctually executed his orders, and thereby hindered the

French from relieving Limerick, which much facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland.

In 1692, when it was known the French were fitting out by far the greatest fleet they ever had at sea, he was appointed to serve under Admiral Russel, was also declared vice-admiral of the red, and intrusted with a large squadron of English and Dutch ships, with orders to cruise for our homeward-bound fleet from the Mediterranean, and then join the main fleet; which he performed with great conduct and success; and having first seen seventy of our merchantmen safe into port, he next, according to his instructions, joined Admiral Russel on the 13th of May, at St. Helen's; which was then justly considered as a very signal service, for, if he had been twenty-four hours later, it might have been of the greatest prejudice to the service.

On the 15th of the same month, a council of war was called of all the flag-officers on board the fleet, wherein it was resolved, in obedience to the positive commands of Queen Mary who was then regent, to sail the first fair weather for the coast of France. In this council of war the admiral took notice of an intimation which had been given him by the Secretary of State, that reports were spread, as if several captains of the fleet had given secret assurances to King James's friends on shore, of their readiness to join them, and of their confidence that they should be able to carry over a great part of the fleet. As nobody knew against whom this information was particularly pointed, it was thought necessary, that the queen might be thoroughly satisfied of their loyalty and integrity, to draw up the following paper, which was done upon the spot.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, flag-officers and captains in your Majesty's fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your Majesty's good and just opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right honourable

Admiral Russel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal Secretary of State, do, in behalf of ourselves, and all the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to address ourselves to your Majesty at this juncture, to undeceive the world, as to those false and malicious reports which have been lately spread in prejudice of your Majesty's service, by people disaffected to the government, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of their country; that there are some among us who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the present happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly beg leave to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance of our fidelity: That we will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture ourselves in the defence of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, against all Popish invaders whatsoever. And, that God Almighty may preserve your Majesty's most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper your arms by sea and land against your enemies, may all people say Amen, with your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects. Dated on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, the 15th of May, 1692." This address was signed by Sir John Ashby, admiral of the blue; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red; George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; Richard Carter, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of the fleet.

On the 18th of May, Admiral Russel stood over to the French coast, and, on the 19th, engaged the enemy in the glorious battle of La Hogue; in which Sir Ralph Delaval, as vice-admiral of the red, did his duty with great reputation, and, pursuant to the admiral's order, formed the rear of the fleet in such a manner, that though several of the French ships that had suffered least, hovered round, and attempted to do mischief, they were obliged, at length, to seek their safety, as the rest of the fleet had done before,

by a plain flight; and he afterwards did remarkable service in destroying some of the enemy's largest ships.

It was natural to expect, after so gallant an action as this, that every officer who had a signal concern therein, should be encouraged and promoted; but it fell out, in some measure, otherwise, from that cause which is generally fatal to the merits of English officers, the power of party-interest. A spirit had been raised against Admiral Russel, who commanded in chief; and King William, for certain reasons, found himself under a necessity of laying that great man aside, which also obliged him to put the command of the fleet into commission.

Accordingly, Henry Killegrew, Esq. Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knts. were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet, which was reputed one of the greatest the maritime powers had ever sent to sea. In the month of May, the admirals formed their line of battle at St. Helen's, which consisted of seventy ships of the line, thirteen frigates, nineteen fire-ships, besides brigantines, bomb-vessels, and hospital-ships. Bishop Burnet, and some other writers, would have us believe, that the inactivity of this mighty naval armament was owing to the secret inclination that two of the admirals, Killegrew and Delaval, had for the service of King James; but the real truth of the matter was, that the fleet was not either victualled or manned; the men being put to short allowance at their first going to sea, and five regiments of foot ordered on board from Portsmouth, purely to make up an appearance of manning.

Besides all this, the ministry were absolutely deceived in their intelligence; in consequence of which they sent impracticable, inconsistent, and, at last, contrary orders. For, first, the admirals were enjoined to attack the French fleet at Brest, to which port it was believed the Toulon squadron was already come, and dispositions were accordingly made for

that service; but, upon sending the Warspight to look into Brest, it was found there was not so much as a ship there. Before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed Sir George Rooke, with the great Turkey fleet under his care, twenty leagues farther than it was first intended; and yet they had scarcely parted with them, before they had an account, that the Toulon squadron was actually in the Mediterranean. It was then proposed, in a council of war, to follow Sir George to Lisbon; but this design was laid aside for two reasons; first, because the court having already sent orders to Sir George to return, it was very uncertain, whether they should be able to meet him; and, secondly, because upon a review of their provisions, and after an equal repartition of them it was found, they had not sufficient for such an expedition, even at short allowance.*

The admirals having communicated all this to the court, orders were sent them, on the 25th of August, to return to St. Helen's, which they did; and having landed the regiments they had on board, the fleet separated, part of the great ships were laid up, and the remainder were appointed for a winter guard; and thus, if they can be so called, the operations of the campaign ended. The misfortune that befel Sir George Rooke, and the Turkey fleet under his convoy, naturally occasioned a great clamour; and

* This is among the number of those transactions, which never are to be understood from general histories, and which are with very great difficulty unravelled in a House of Commons. He who obeys orders does his duty certainly, though he should do his country injury by his obedience, because a general example of disobedience is of much worse consequence than any particular wrong step with regard to the conduct of an expedition; and besides, if you take away this general rule of obedience, it is impossible for men to know how to conduct themselves from the highest to the lowest station: add to all which, that where men receive doubtful, perplexed, and confused orders, they ought, in regard to their own safety, to adhere closely to the letter, and leave such as drew the orders to answer for them.

upon this, a very strict inquiry was made into the affair, first by the privy-council, and then by parliament, where, on the 17th of November, the House of Commons came to a resolution, "That, in the affair of convoying Sir George Rooke to sea, there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement;" and yet, when the question was put for censuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a negative.

We must therefore, in order to reconcile these two votes, suppose the opinion of the House of Commons to have been, that this notorious and treacherous mismanagement was not in them. And indeed Bishop Burnet, though he condemns the admirals, has left us such an account of their justification, as seems to confirm this supposition; for he says, that the orders sent them from the cabinet council were ill given, and worse executed. Now, it may be questioned, how bad orders can be well executed? But the Bishop goes farther; he tells us, that these orders were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective; to which he adds, that the admirals shewed no other sign of zeal, than in strictly obeying these orders. I should be glad to know, what other zeal they could shew, when under such instructions, and with a fleet in such a condition.

The business, however, ended in laying Mr. Killegrew and Sir Ralph Delaval aside; and, to speak my sentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the effect of party-spirit, as the laying aside Admiral Russel was the year before. As for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he happened to be in favour with the party that disliked the other two admirals, and so he escaped, though he had concurred with them in every thing. I do not say this, with the smallest design of reflecting on the memory of that brave man, who, I am entirely persuaded, was not at all culpable; but only to shew the pernicious effects of party intrigues, by which all things were then governed: I wish

I could say, that nothing like it has ever happened since.

Sir Ralph Delaval lived thenceforward privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own estate, which was very considerable, and troubled not himself with public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of January, 1707, and on the 23d of the same month was buried with great solemnity in Westminster-Abbey. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous hospitable man; which, according to the best accounts I have been able to procure, he certainly deserved; though he was so unfortunate as to pass nine years of his life in an obscure retirement, and that too, in a season when his service might have been most useful to his country.

SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, KNT.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, &c.

It is certainly a just observation, that virtue alone creates nobility. He who enjoys a title by birth, derives it from the virtue of his ancestors; and he who raises himself into high rank, which is a sort of self-creation, supplies the want of ancestors by personal merit. Under all free governments, the latter ought to be encouraged, as well as the former respected; for, as every such government must flourish or decline, according to that portion of public spirit which is found among its subjects; so the only means by which this spirit can be either excited or maintained, is the proper distribution of rewards, and the strict punishment of criminals. Where virtue is neglected, and vice unpunished, corruption is at the height, and the dissolution of that state near at hand.

We were not in any such situation at the time this brave man was born, which was about the year

1650. His parents were but in middling circumstances; and as they had some expectations from a relation, whose name was Cloudesley, they thought fit to bestow that name upon their son, as a probable means of recommending him to this relation's notice. But, whether they were disappointed in their views, or from what other accident it arose, I am not able to say; but so it was, that young Cloudesley Shovel was put out apprentice to a mean trade, I think to that of a shoe-maker, to which he applied himself for some years; but being of an aspiring disposition, and finding no appearance of raising his fortune in that way, he betook himself to the sea, under the protection of Sir John Narborough, with whom, I speak it to his honour, he went as a cabin boy: but applying himself very assiduously to navigation, and having naturally a genius for that art, he soon became an able seaman; and as those were stirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived at preferment. This he, in a great measure, owed to the favour of that famous person, who, having been cabin-boy to Sir Christopher Myngs, was a man who raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, by mere dint of capacity, and, therefore, proved a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Mr. Shovel to his notice.

After the close of the second Dutch war, our merchants, in the Mediterranean, found themselves very much distressed by the piratical state of Tripoli; which, notwithstanding several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit fresh depredations, almost as early as the Dutch war broke out. As soon, therefore, as the king found himself at leisure, he ordered a strong squadron into those parts, to repress the insolence of these corsairs, under the command of Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the spring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his

reception. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negociation rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide, to the Dey of Tripoli, to propose terms of accommodation, and those too very moderate in their nature; for he desired only satisfaction for what was past, and security for the time to come. The admiral entrusted Mr. Shovel with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the Dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer.

Mr. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore: Sir John sent him back again with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his inquiries and observations. The Dey's behaviour was worse the second time: but Mr. Shovel, though naturally warm, bore it with wonderful patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts: accordingly, in the night of the fourth of March, Lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and, as I have already related in another place, destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarcely to be conceived; of which Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account in all his letters, that the next year Mr. Shovel had the command given him of the Sapphire, a fifth rate, from whence he was, not long after, removed into the James galley, a fourth rate, in which he continued to the death of King Charles II. who first raised, and had always a great kindness for, him.

There were reasons which engaged King James to employ Captain Shovel, though he was a man far enough from being in his favour; accordingly he was

preferred to the command of the Dover, a fourth rate, in which situation he was, when the revolution took place. This was very fortunate for Captain Shovel, as well as very agreeable to his way of thinking; which, together with his activity in the service, for he was in every engagement almost that happened during that reign, made him very conspicuous, and made his rise in the navy as quick as he could wish. He was in the first battle, I mean that of Bantry-bay, in the Edgar, a third rate, and gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct, that when King William came down to Portsmouth, he was pleased, on the recommendation of Admiral Herbert, who, for that action, was raised to the dignity of earl of Torrington, to confer upon him and Captain Ashby, of the Defiance, the honour of knighthood.

This was soon followed by further services, as they were by additional rewards: for Sir Cloudesley, after cruising in the Soundings, and on the coast of Ireland, during the winter of the year 1690, and the ensuing spring, was, in the month of June, employed in convoying King William and his army into Ireland; who was so highly satisfied with his diligence and dexterity, for, without question, in matters of this nature, he was one of the ablest commanders ever put to sea, that he was graciously pleased, not only to appoint him rear-admiral of the blue, but did him also the honour, with his own hands, to deliver him his commission.

After performing this service, it was intended he should have joined the grand fleet; but, on the 10th of July, King William receiving information, that the enemy intended to send upwards of twenty small frigates, the biggest not above thirty-six guns, into St. George's channel, to burn the transport-ships, he was ordered to cruise off Scilly, or in such a station as he should judge most proper for preventing that design; and to send frigates to ply eastward and westward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet

so that he might be the better able to provide for his own safety. And they, upon meeting with Vice-admiral Killegrew, in his return from the Straits, were to give him notice of all circumstances, that so he might likewise take care not to be intercepted.

He cruised up and down in the aforesaid station, till the 21st of July, without meeting with any thing remarkable; and then the Dover and Experiment joined him from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingsale, on board of which was Colonel Hacket, Captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Esq. Anthony Thompson, Esq. Captain Thomas Power, Mr. William Sutton, and six servants, who were following King James to France, in order to their accompanying him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudesley an account, that King James took shipping at Duncannon, and sailed to Kingsale; but after staying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spanish frigates, that had lain there for that purpose a considerable time; and that he carried with him the Lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and Captain Richard Trevanion.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed afterwards to Kingsale, and, as I have before shewn, did all that could reasonably be expected from him, in regard to what was prescribed by his orders, and yet without much success. But an opportunity quickly offered of demonstrating his zeal and affection for the service. General Kirke, with a handful of troops, was before the strong town of Waterford, which he could not take, on account of the numerous garrison in Duncannon castle, commanded by General Bourk, who professed his resolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one stone remained upon another; Sir Cloudesley rightly guessed, that a good part of this bravery proceeded from certain intelligence, that Mr. Kirke had not a single piece of cannon; upon which he sent him word, that he was ready to assist him from his squadron, not

only with guns, but with boats and men; which, on the general's accepting this proposition, he accordingly did; and then General Bourk was so prudent as to surrender the place, before there was so much as one stone beat from another.

The remainder of the year 1690 was spent by Sir Cloudesley, for the most part in cruising, till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's squadron, which escorted the king to Holland, in the month of January following. On the 13th of April, his Majesty landed in England, when, having given directions for hastening out the fleet, and dispatched other affairs of great importance, that prince embarked again for Holland, on the 1st of May, and, on the 18th of October following returned to England, in the Mary yacht, being then also attended by a squadron of men of war, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

It was his felicity, that, as his services were well intended, so, generally speaking, they were well received; and if Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at any time, missed of success, nobody ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct. His courage, and his sincerity were alike unquestionable; and though this was not the most credulous age, yet there never was heard of such an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both.

On this account, most people were very well satisfied, when the king, in the spring of the year 1692, and just before he set out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red; and, at the same time, commander of the squadron that was to convoy him thither. On his return from thence, he joined Admiral Russel with the grand fleet, and had a great share in the danger, and as great a share in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being discovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the English admiral

gave the signal for chacing, and sent notice to all the ships, that the enemy was retiring. At the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, and, though the ships that fired could not be seen, it was concluded they were the blue squadron, that by a shift of wind had weathered the French; it proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, who had, with wonderful pains and diligence, weathered their admiral's own squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue; but, after he had fired upon the French for some time, Tourville, as well as the admiral of that squadron, came to an anchor with some of the ships of their division, but could not discover one another by reason of the thickness of the weather.*

When it was thought requisite, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, that the fleet should be put under the joint admirals in the succeeding year, he was one; and, perhaps, if there had been nothing more than this joint commission, we might well enough account from thence for the misfortune that happened in our affairs at sea, during the year 1693. This the intelligent reader will the more easily credit, when he is put in mind, that these joint admirals were of different parties; that is to say, Killegrew and Delaval were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig. Yet, as they were all good seamen, and very probably all meant their country well, though they did not agree in the manner of serving it, it is most likely, that, upon mature consideration of the posture things were then in, the orders they had received from

* It may not be amiss to mention here the care taken by Queen Mary to encourage those who had behaved so well in this engagement; for she was no sooner informed of the victory, than she immediately sent down 30,000*l.* to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen, and gold medals for all the officers. Colonel Hastings, who was killed in the fight, was buried on the 7th of June, in great state, the queen sending her coaches, and the nobility and gentry two hundred more; the whole being escorted by eight companies of guards.

court, and the condition of the fleet, which was not either half-manned or half-victualled, the admirals might agree, that a cautious execution of the instructions they had received was a method as safe for the nation, and more so for themselves, than any other they could take. There was, therefore, no great reason for that piece of Dutch wit played off upon this occasion in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to insinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the Admirals Killegrew and Delaval had not hindered him.

But, when the affair came to be very strictly enquired into in parliament, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the bar of the house, defended his colleagues as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders, I mean in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the House of Commons; for which, if there was any foundation, it must have lain either among the inferior people at the Admiralty, or those in the Secretary of State's office, who were bribed to give intelligence to the French. But possibly even this was but suspicion.

The character of Sir Cloudesley Shovel remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea, in the year 1694, in the Channel, and on the French coast, where he had the honour to command, as vice-admiral of the red, under Lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-bay; of which I have already given so large an account, that I think it altogether needless to repeat it here, and, therefore, shall only say, that Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land forces, when they sailed upon that unfortunate expedition, as also when, on their

return to England, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of France, to bombard Dieppe and other places.

Towards the end of the season, the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by Lord Berkley's coming to London; and then he received his Majesty's express commands to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk, which he attempted, as I have shewn in the naval history of that year, to no purpose, through the fault of the engineer, who had promised more than either he, or, as was then believed, any other man, could perform. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and, therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not. He had his share in the remaining part of the war, and, after the peace of Ryswick, was always consulted by his Majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration.

In the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, he was not much in favour, and, therefore, I do not find him employed, though he was then admiral of the white, in any affair of importance, till he was sent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewed upon every occasion: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could possibly be brought home, burnt the rest, and, notwithstanding the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes,

arrived safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; which was considered as so remarkable a service by the court, that it was immediately resolved to employ him in affairs of the greatest consequence for the future.

Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Straits in the year 1703, where he did every thing it was possible for an admiral to do, whose instructions were very extensive, and who yet wanted an adequate force to accomplish a great part of those instructions. It is in such conjunctures as these that the skill and capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in this expedition Sir Cloudesley gave as convincing proofs of his courage and conduct as any admiral could do; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; he did what was to be done for the relief of the Protestants then in arms in the Cevennes; he countenanced such of the Italian powers as were inclined to favour the cause of the allies, and he struck such a terror into the friends of the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to undertake for that court.

All this he did with a fleet very indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; so that, notwithstanding the management of our affairs at sea was severely censured that year in the House of Commons, yet all parties agreed that Sir Cloudesley Shovel had done his duty in every respect, and very well deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him.*

* Bishop Burnet gives us but a melancholy account of this expedition, and yet he very honestly justifies the admiral's conduct. This prelate's account of the matter is very curious, and very well worth the reader's notice. I have not touched on it before, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to insert it here, as a proof that I do not over-rate the merit of the great men whose actions I record: "It was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean: it was near the end of June before they were ready to sail; and they had orders to come out of the Straits by the end of September. Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it

In the year 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, to reinforce which, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron; and he took such care not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what manner they ought to be executed, that, by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of June, he was very instrumental in the singular success that followed, as by that very action he effectually disappointed all the French schemes, though that court had boasted, they should be able to restore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at sea that summer.

He took his part in the glorious action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, as Bishop Burnet very justly observes; and yet he had the good luck to escape extremely well in that action, though as he said himself in his letter, he never took more pains to be well beat in his life; but he was very far from taking to himself, what some have since endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance. This was not at all in Sir Cloudesley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an act of injustice of this sort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own

had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders. He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood that, by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it."

merit and his admiral's, and he did justice to both in the letter he wrote on that occasion, and of which the reader may find an extract in the preceding volume.

This battle was fought on the 13th of August, 1704;* Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; Sir Cloudesley's division consisted of nine ships, the Barfleur, Eagle, Orford, Assurance, Warspite, Swiftsure, Nottingham, Tilbury, and the Lenox, in which they had only one officer killed; *viz.* the first lieutenant of the Lenox, and seven wounded, one hundred and five private men killed, and three hundred and three wounded. After this victory the French never durst think of fighting our fleets; and, upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen by Prince George, as lord high-admiral of England, met with a very gracious reception, and was the next year employed as *commander-in-chief, being appointed rear-admiral of the fleet of England on the 6th of January following.

Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both

* I shall be obliged to touch upon some particulars in this engagement, when I come to the Memoirs of Sir George Rooke; but it may not be amiss to observe here incidentally, that, at the beginning of the battle, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the van of the English fleet, narrowly missed being surrounded by the French, but that Sir George Rooke perceiving their design, bore down immediately to his assistance; which seasonable succour Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned in the latter part of the engagement, when, some ships of the admiral's division being forced out of the line for want of ammunition, Sir Cloudesley very gallantly came in to his aid, and drew several of the enemy's ships from our centre, which, after they had felt the force of some of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's division, did not think it safe to advance along-side his: but, being clean and better sailers, they set their sprit-sails, and with their boats a-head, towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging with them so much as a single broadside.

a fleet and army to Spain, Sir Cloudesley thought it reasonable to accept the command of the fleet, jointly with the earls of Peterborough and Monmouth, and accordingly arrived at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, in the month of June, 1705, and, towards the latter end of the same month, sailed from thence to Catalonia, arriving before the city of Barcelona on the 12th of August, when the siege of the place was undertaken, though the English army was very little, if at all, superior to the garrison within the town.

There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel found himself here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land-officers divided in their opinions; the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, upon whom King Charles principally depended, was not on speaking terms with the earl of Peterborough; all things necessary for the siege were in a manner, wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on Admiral Shovel, who on this occasion gave the most signal proofs, not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service.

He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to serve them; he landed, for the use of the army, almost all the military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others, and, in short, was so useful, so ready, and so determined in the service, and took such care that every thing he promised should be fully and punctually performed, that his presence and councils in a manner forced the land officers to continue the siege, till the place was taken, to the surprise of all the world, and, perhaps, most of all to the surprise of those by whom it was taken; for, if we may guess at their sentiments by what they declared under their hands

in several councils of war, they scarcely believed it practicable to reduce so strong a place with so small a force, and that so ill provided.

How great a sense the queen had of this important service, and how much she was persuaded it would contribute to the advantage of the common cause, the reputation of her arms abroad, and the satisfaction of her subjects at home, may appear from her going expressly to parliament, upon this occasion, upon the 27th of November, 1705, where, being seated on the throne, she sent for the House of Commons on purpose to communicate to them the news of this important success, which she did in the following speech, that deserves, for its singularity, as well as for its relation to the subject in hand, a place in this history:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Having newly received letters from the king of Spain and the earl of Peterborough, which contain a very particular account of our great and happy successes in Catalonia, and shewing at the same time the reasonableness of their being immediately supported, I look upon this to be a matter of such consequence in itself, and so agreeable to you, that I have ordered a copy of the king of Spain's letter to myself, and a letter from the junto of the military army of Catalonia and another letter from the city of Vich, as also an extract of the earl of Peterborough's letter to me, to be communicated to both houses of parliament.

"I recommend the consideration of them to you, gentleman of the House of Commons, very particularly, as the speediest way to restore the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria; and therefore I assure myself, you will enable me to prosecute the advantages we have gained, in the most effectual manner, and to improve the opportunity, which God Almighty is pleased to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the present war.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I must not lose this occasion of desiring you to give as much dispatch to the matters before you as the nature of them allows, that so, in our preparations for next year, you may be early, which cannot fail of being a great advantage to us."

The next year Sir Cloudesley again commanded the fleet; but it sailed very late, so as not to reach the river of Lisbon till the month of November; and, even when it arrived there, the disputes which arose among the lords of King Charles's council and his generals, with the delays of the Portuguese, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the great designs of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reasonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneasy situation Sir Cloudesley Shovel did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander; for he not only closely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of King Charles to come to such an agreement, as might secure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their master, who was then at Madrid, upon the throne of Spain.

But, though the care and concern of the admiral had very little the effect on this side, yet his representations in Portugal met with greater regard. It seems that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed some odd insults on the seamen as they came a-shore from the fleet; and the forts, at the entrance of the river, had fired upon some of our men of war; upon which Sir Cloudesley made his representations to the ministry; and, having received a very dissatisfactory answer, he immediately demanded a conference with a person of great distinction, who was then at the

head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the seamen, so long as he bore the English flag, should maintain the strictest discipline while in the harbour of Portugal, and therefore he expected it should receive those marks of friendship and respect, which were due to so great a princess as the queen his sovereign; or, in case of any failure, he should think himself obliged to do his seamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not suffer the English flag to be insulted, while he had the honour to wear it. This Sir Cloudesley expressed in such a manner, and seconded his words with so brisk a resentment, when the first-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of Portugal thought fit to issue out such orders as he desired, and things wore another face in that part of the world ever afterwards; which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Sir Cloudesley, who knew very well how to distinguish between the complaisance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an English admiral.

The beginning of the year 1707 wore but an indifferent aspect for Sir Cloudesley. He had disposed all things in such a manner, as that he might be able to succour Alicant; and very probably had succeeded therein, if not prevented, when the troops were on the point of embarking, by an order from England. This order was obtained by the pressing instances of the court of Portugal, which represented here, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were sent to this purpose, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic Majesty would consent to the propositions made by the Portuguese minister, in the name, and on the behalf of his master. But, notwithstanding this application, the Portuguese, being either unwilling or unable to comply with those demands, it was resolved in a council of war to resume the former project, and to

land them at Alicant; for which orders soon after arrived from England.

According to this resolution, the confederate fleet sailed on the 7th of January, with the land-forces from Lisbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th of the same month, and were actually landed. But, through the delays the expedition met with, the troops, which at their sailing from England, were little, if any thing, short of ten thousand men, were now found to be scarcely seven thousand; and Sir Cloudesley finding that his presence would be of little use there, and that the fleet stood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Lisbon, where he arrived the 11th of March following. There he received orders to prepare for the expedition against Toulon; of which we have already said much, and, therefore, shall be the more concise in what we are obliged to add further upon that subject here.

The instructions which Sir Cloudesley Shovel received, in relation to this important affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war, by obliging the French king to abandon the support of his grandson in Spain, were sent him to Lisbon: and, in obedience to them, the admiral made such dispatch, that on the 10th of May he sailed for Alicant; where, having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June, came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes; where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, who actually came on board the 29th of that month, and were entertained by Sir Cloudesley with the utmost magnificence.

The enemy were at that time strongly entrenched on the river Var, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. These entrenchments were defended by eight hundred horse, and six battalions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battalions more, under the command

of Lieutenant-general Dillon, an old Irish officer, from whose courage and conduct the French had reason to expect as much as from any man in their service; and, indeed, if he had arrived in those lines, it is very doubtful whether the confederates could have forced them. But Sir Cloudesley having observed to the duke, that part of the French lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them; and that he would land a body of seamen, who should attack the highest and strongest of their entrenchments; his royal highness consented that they should be attacked immediately.

Accordingly, on the 1st of July, Sir Cloudesley ordered four English, and one Dutch man of war, to enter the mouth of the river Var, where they began to cannonade the French lines; soon after which, six hundred English seamen landed in open boats, under the command of Sir John Norris, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were so terrified with such an unexpected salutation, that they threw down their arms, after a short dispute, and abandoned their works.

This great effort made by the English, not only procured an easy passage, where the greatest resistance was expected, but totally disconcerted the French schemes, since the troops had scarcely quitted these entrenchments before they met, in their march, Lieutenant-general Dillon, at the head of his twelve battalions, who was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of St. Paul, and to continue this retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held on board the admiral, in which it was resolved to prosecute the march to Toulon, which the duke of Savoy promised to reach in six days. It appears from this account, that whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of Sir Cloudesley. He proposed forcing the passage of the Var, and executed it; he induced his royal highness

of Savoy to pursue his march immediately; and, as soon as that resolution was taken, the admiral sailed with his fleet for the islands of Hieres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemies correspondence with Italy.

The story, therefore, that is told of Sir Cloudesley's detaining a sum of money, must be without foundation; for, before the attack, his royal highness must have been perfectly satisfied, otherwise he would not have undertaken it; and he marched as soon as Prince Eugene joined him, with the remainder of the forces, Sir Cloudesley Shovel seeing no more of him till he reached Toulon.* But, instead of six, his royal highness made it full twelve days before he attacked, in any manner, the place; and then never

* I have already given some account of the real and pretended reasons for the miscarriage of this expedition; and I there lay the greatest weight on the body of forces sent by the Emperor Joseph, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; which expedition, first delayed, and then weakened, the attempt upon Toulon; but I had not at that time seen a valuable letter of her Majesty Queen Anne to the emperor, upon this subject; which, as it was never published, as it was written with her own hand, and contains matter of an extraordinary nature, I thought it might not be amiss to insert it here, rather than conceal it from the reader. This letter was to congratulate the emperor on the success of his arms in Naples.

"SIR, my Brother,

"I rejoice with all my heart, with your Imperial Majesty, on the reduction of the kingdom of Naples to the obedience of the Catholic king, of which he has given me an account by his letter of the 30th of August last; and I hope that by a joint pursuit, for the time to come, of whatever shall be advantageous to the common cause, this success will be followed by another, equally glorious and important to the house of Austria, in putting my brother, the Catholic king, in possession of the Spanish monarchy, by the powerful succours that your Imperial Majesty will, after this happy event, be able to furnish him; to whom I wish all kind of prosperity, and to your Imperial Majesty a continual series of good fortune. This will give me extreme pleasure, as being

"Your Imperial Majesty's

"Most affectionate Sister,

"Kensington, Sept. 29, 1707. "ANNE R."

pretended to lay any blame upon Sir Cloudesley, but threw it on Prince Eugene, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expose them. It is true, that when Sir Cloudesley went first to compliment the duke upon his safe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highness told him, he was glad to see him at last, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when Sir Cloudesley answered, that he had not waited a moment since it was in his power to wait upon his royal highness: he replied, smiling, "I did not say you, but the maritime powers had made me wait; for this expedition I concerted so long ago as 1693; and fourteen years is a long time to wait, Sir Cloudesley."

The admiral ordered immediately one hundred pieces of cannon to be landed from the fleet, for the service of the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; neither was he wanting in any thing that was desired from him, during the whole affair, but rather exceeded what the duke and Prince Eugene could reasonably expect, as well with regard to his personal attendance as to the service of the fleet. Besides, there was not any misfortune on his side, but it fell out altogether amongst the land-troops, who were beat from their posts with very great loss on the 15th of August, N. S. On the 16th, the fleet began to cannonade the town, and throw bombs in the night, which was continued till such time as the siege was raised, and which obliged the French to sink all their capital ships, a distress that more than countervailed the whole expence of this service, great as it was.

As the duke of Savoy never would have undertaken this affair without the assistance of the fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesley; as he did nothing, when before Toulon, but by the assistance of the fleet, from whence he had all his military stores; so he could

not possibly have made a safe retreat, if it had not been covered by the confederate fleet, which attended him again to the time of his repassing the Var. There some new disputes happened, in which Sir Cloudesley had little or no concern. Her Britannic Majesty's minister laboured to persuade Prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the duke of Savoy likewise concurred; and Sir Cloudesley offered to transport his royal highness with a body of troops under his command; but this proposition being rejected, his excellency bore away for the Straits; and soon after, resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life.

He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ships of the line; three fifth-rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England. On the 22d of October, he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at six in the evening, he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is presumed, that he saw the light on St. Agnes, one of the islands of Scilly. Soon after which, several ships of his fleet made the signal of distress, as he himself did; and it was with much difficulty that Sir George Byng, in the Royal Anne, saved himself, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir John Norris and Lord Dursley also ran very great risks; and, as we have shewn elsewhere, several ships besides the admiral's perished. There were with him, on board the Association, his sons-in-law, Sir John Narborough, and James his brother, Mr. Trelawny, eldest son to the bishop of Winchester, and several other young gentlemen of quality. There is no saying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whose fault it was owing, though a report prevailed immediately after it happened, that a great part of the

crew had got drunk for joy that they were within sight of land.

Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown a-shore the next day upon the island of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and, having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring, being shewn about, made a great noise all over the island, and coming to the ears of Mr. Paxton, who was purser of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, and obliged them to discover where they had buried the body; which he took up, and carried on board his own ship, in which it was transported to Plymouth, conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried, from his house in Soho Square, in Westminster Abbey, with great solemnity, where, if not an elegant, an expensive monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's direction, in order to do honour to the memory of so great a man, and so worthy and useful a subject.

Since the first edition of this work, a very ingenious and inquisitive writer,* who had himself paid a visit to these islands, has given us a farther account of this matter, which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words. "Before I come to describe the ancient sepulchres of these islands," says this reverend author, "give me leave to make a small excursion from the Druid pale, and, now I am so near the spot, to carry you down to the grave of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a cave called Porthelic, between the Tolmens, which I have been describing to you, the body of this great sea-captain, after his shipwreck in the year 1707, was found naked, and not to be distinguished from the most ordinary sailor under his

* Observations on the Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly, and their importance to the Trade of Great Britain, in a Letter to the Reverend Charles Lyttleton, LL.D. Dean of Exeter, and F. R. S. By William Borlase, M. A. F. R. S. Oxford, 1759, 4to.

command; and here he was buried, a bank of sand offering itself very opportunely for that purpose. The nature of the place, it must be allowed, would make it doubly inhuman not to have buried him, whoever he was, and is, therefore, the first argument Archytas makes use of to bespeak the same friendly office after a like misfortune:

> *At tu, nautu, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ*
> *Ossibus, et capiti inhumato*
> *Particulam dare.*——
>
> Hor. Ode xxviii. lib. i.

> Stay, traveller, and let thy gen'rous breast,
> Guess the sad tale, and bear my bones to rest.
> See where, at hand, these sports of wind and wave,
> May find the wish'd-for, tho' a sandy grave.

" His body was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to Westminster-abbey, and a little pit on this sandy green still shews,

——" *Pulveris exigui parva munera.*"

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her Majesty's fleet, one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral of England, elder brother of Trinity House, and one of the governors of Greenwich Hospital; in all which stations he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accomplished sea-officer, one who had always the glory of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; so in all circumstances of private life, as an husband, parent, or master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her Majesty expressed a very particular concern for his loss, and was pleased to tell Sir John Leake, when she made him rear-admiral of England, that she knew

no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seaman in her service.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel married the widow of his friend and patron, Sir John Narborough, who was the daughter of Captain Hill, by whom he left two daughters, co-heiresses; Elizabeth, the eldest, espoused to Robert Lord Romney, and afterwards to John Lord Carmichael, earl of Hyndford, and who died at the Hague in 1750; Anne, who became the wife of the Honourable Robert Mansel, and, upon his demise, married Robert Blackwood, Esq. of London, merchant. Lady Shovel had also three children by her first husband: John, who, while a child, was created a baronet, and James Narborough, Esq. who, as we have already mentioned, were lost in the Association with their father-in-law; likewise a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas D'aeth, of Knowlton, in the county of Kent, baronet, and who departed this life in 1721. After surviving the unfortunate Sir Cloudesley twenty-five years, her ladyship died March the 15th, 1732, at her house in Frith-street, near Soho-square, having lived to a great age. It may not be improper to add to these memoirs, his monumental inscription in Westminster-abbey; since it is the only one of its kind, and stands there as a perpetual memorial of the services which he rendered his country, and of the grateful sense retained by the great and glorious princess who employed him, and under whose auspicious conduct the arms of Great Britain, by sea and land, were ever victorious. Thus that inscription runs:

"Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; the just rewards of long and faithful services: he was deservedly beloved of his country, and esteemed, though dreaded, by the enemy: who had often experienced his conduct and courage. Being shipwrecked on the rocks of Scilly, in his voyage from

Toulon, the 22d of October, 1707, at night, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

"His fate was lamented by all; but especially the sea-faring part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy example. His body was flung on the shore, and buried with others in the sands; but being soon after taken up, was placed under this monument, which his royal mistress has caused to be erected, to commemorate his steady loyalty, and extraordinary virtues."

SIR GEORGE ROOKE, KNT.

VICE-ADMIRAL, AND LIEUTENANT OF THE ADMIRALTY OF ENGLAND, AND LIEUTENANT OF THE FLEETS, AND SEAS OF THIS KINGDOM, ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, &c.

It is a thing we may reasonably expect, and it is commonly found true, from experience, that such persons as rise into high and honourable employments, by dint of merit, and are withal of a respectable descent, as they enjoy their fortunes with less envy, so they are, generally speaking, more attached to the government and constitution of their country, than those who, by a hasty rise from a low beginning, have small concern for those establishments from which they derive no honour; and are therefore more prone to changes and revolutions, in which men of active parts must be always considerable. This truth was never more manifest, than in the conduct of the illustrious person of whom we are now to speak. A man, who, to hereditary honours, added reputation founded on personal merit, and who repaid the credit derived to him from his ancestors, by the glory reflected from his own actions. Yet he was so modest that he coveted titles as little as wealth; and after a life spent in noble achievements, went to

his grave with a moderate fortune, though he had long enjoyed such employments as enabled others to raise princely estates.

He was the son of Sir William Rooke, Knt. of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Kent, where he was born, in the year 1650; his father gave him the education becoming a gentleman, in which, by the quickness of his parts, and the solidity of his judgment, he made an extraordinary progress, insomuch that Sir William Rooke had great hopes, that he would have distinguished himself in an honourable profession, for which he was intended. But as it frequently happens, that genius gives a bias too strong for the views even of a parent to subdue, so Sir William, after a fruitless struggle with his son George's bent to naval employment, at last gave way to his inclinations, and suffered him to make a campaign at sea.

His first station in the navy was that of volunteer, in which he distinguished himself, by his undaunted courage and indefatigable application. This quickly obtained for him the post of a lieutenant, from whence he rose to that of a captain before he was thirty; a thing, in those days, thought very extraordinary, when no man, let his quality be what it would, was advanced to that station, before he had given ample, as well as incontestable testimonies, of his being able to fill it with honour. These preferments he enjoyed under the reign of Charles II. and under that of his successor, King James, he was appointed to the command of the Deptford, a fourth rate man of war, in which post the Revolution found him.

Admiral Herbert distinguished him early, by sending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a squadron on the coast of Ireland. In this station, he heartily concurred with Major-general Kirke, in the famous relief of Londonderry, assisting in person in taking the island in the Lake, which opened a passage

for the relief of the town. Soon after, he was employed in escorting the Duke of Schomberg's army, and, landing them safe near Carrickfergus, facilitated the siege of that place, and, after it was taken, sailed with his squadron along the coast; where he first looked into the harbour of Dublin, manned all his boats, and insulted the place where King James was in person; and, in the night of the 18th of September, he formed a design of burning all the vessels in the harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not shifted, so as to drive him out to sea.

From thence he sailed to Cork, into which haven he likewise looked, though, in the apprehension of the people of Ireland, it was the best fortified port in the island; but Sir George soon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithstanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered and took possession of the great island; and might have done more, but that his ships were so foul, that they could scarcely swim; and his provisions grown so short, that he was obliged to repair to the Downs, where he arrived in the middle of October, having acquired great reputation by his activity and good service. In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red, and, in that station, served in the fight off Beachy-head, which happened on the 30th of June the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms, which was indisputably the greatest we ever met with at sea, Admiral Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to inquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John Ashby, who, in their accounts, justified their admiral, and shewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages.

It was believed by many, that this would have

been a bar to his preferment; but it proved otherwise, and he was immediately appointed to command the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland; and afterwards joined the grand fleet, under the command of Mr. Russel, who was then admiral of the red squadron, and commander in chief; but that year being spent without action, the French declining it, and the admiral being too wise a man to risk the fate of his predecessor, by any rash attempt, Rear-admiral Rooke had no opportunity of distinguishing himself further, than by exactly obeying orders, and protecting our trade; which he did very effectually.

In the spring of the succeeding year, he again convoyed King William to Holland, and was then, or very soon after, promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, in which station he served in the famous battle of La Hogue, on the 22d of May, 1692, and he behaved with distinguished courage and conduct, as the relation published by Admiral Russel fully shews; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day, which threw the French entirely into confusion, and forced them to run such hazards, in order to shelter themselves from their victorious enemies.

But the next day, which was Monday the 23d of May, was for him still much more glorious; for Vice-admiral Rooke had orders to go into La Hogue and burn the enemy's ships as they lay. There were thirteen large men of war, which had crowded as far up as possible, and the transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, were disposed in such a manner, that it was thought impossible to burn them. Besides all this, the French camp was in sight, with all the French and Irish troops that were to have been employed in the invasion, and several batteries upon the coast, well supplied with heavy artillery. The vice-admiral, however, made the necessary preparations for obeying his orders, notwithstanding he saw the

dispositions made on shore for his reception; but, when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squadron; yet even this did not discourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore, and, having manned out all his boats, went himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night six three-deck ships, and the next day, being the 24th, he burnt six more from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns, together with most of the transports and ammunition-vessels, and this under the fire of all those batteries I have before mentioned, in sight of the French and Irish troops; and yet, through the wise conduct of their commander, this bold enterprise cost the lives of no more than ten men. In order to have a distinct conception of the merit of this most glorious action, we need only cast our eyes on the letter written to their High Mightinesses the States-general by their Admiral Allemonde, who was present, and who penned this letter on the 24th, before Vice admiral Rooke went the very last time into La Hogue to burn the remaining ships and transports. It is but natural to believe the admiral gave the best account in his power to his masters; and we cannot believe he meant to flatter the English officer, since it does not appear from his letter, that he so much as knew who he was; these circumstances, therefore, considered, his epistle may be justly looked upon as the most authentic testimony that can be offered on this subject.*

* This letter of Admiral Allemonde, was dated from on board the Prince, near Cape Barfleur, —— 1692, in which letter he says: June 3, May 24,

"I came to an anchor under this cape where I have been since yesterday in the afternoon with your High Mightinesses' squadron, and that of Sir John Ashby, admiral of the English blue squadron, and some other ships of their Britannic Majesties. At which time

It was extremely happy for Mr. Rooke, that he served a brave prince, who would not take his informations upon trust, but enquired particularly into every man's conduct before he punished or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at La Hogue appeared to him so great, and so worthy of public notice, that, having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he settled a pension of a thousand pounds *per annum* on him for life. In the spring of the year his Majesty thought fit to go to Portsmouth, as King Charles II. had sometimes done, to view the fleet, and, going on board Mr. Rooke's ship then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood, having a little before made a grand naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red; and, the direction of the fleet being now put in commission, Sir George Rooke

being informed by the captain of a French fire-ship, who was taken prisoner, that about twelve of the ships that had fought against your High Mightinesses' squadron, and to which we had given chace, were got in among the rocks, I prepared to go and destroy them. But, as I was ready to put my design in execution, I found that Admiral Russel had given orders to the same purpose. Presently I offered him your High Mightinesses' light frigates and fire-ships to assist his ships, and immediately gave all necessary orders, in case he should make use of them; but, as yet, I know not whether those frigates or fire-ships were employed or no. All that I can assure your High Mightinesses is, that, the same day they took a resolution to destroy those twelve ships, they burnt six of the biggest, being ships of three decks; and this day the rest that remained, the least of which carried sixty pieces of cannon, ran the same fate, being burnt with all their ammunition, and provision, together with the six other smaller vessels, which they had lightened of their guns, to try whether it were possible to save them by towing them any higher; so that this expedition has completed the irreparable ruin of the enemy's fleet. I understand this day, from aboard Admiral Russel, that orders are given out to burn the transport-vessels that are in the Bay of La Hogue, to the number of about 500, if it may be done with safety; but I fear the execution of the enterprise will be very difficult by reason of the shallowness of the water where these vessels ly, and the resistance which may be made from the land, and therefore leave the success of the design to Providence."

was intrusted with the command of the squadron that was to escort the Smyrna fleet, and the joint admirals received orders to accompany him as far to sea as they should think proper; after which his instructions were, to take the best care of the fleet he could, and, in case of any misfortune, to retire into some of the Spanish ports, and put himself under the protection of their cannon.

It cannot be supposed, that Sir George Rooke had any better intelligence than the admirals, or the secretaries of State, and therefore we ought to ascribe the great unwillingness he shewed to part with the grand fleet so soon, to his superior skill in naval affairs, from whence he judged, that, since the French squadron was not at Brest, it must be gone to Toulon, for which he thought there could scarcely be a better reason assigned than their hopes of intercepting the Smyrna fleet under his convoy. However, he sailed, as his orders and duty required; and, on the 15th of June, being about sixty leagues short of Cape St. Vincent, he ordered the Lark to stretch a-head of his scouts into Lagos-bay; but, next day having confirmed accounts of the danger they were in, he proposed in a council of war to keep the wind, or lie by all that night, that so a discovery of the enemy's strength might be made next morning. But in this he was over-ruled, and it was urged that the wind being fresh northerly, it gave the fleet a fair opportunity of pushing for Cadiz; pursuant to this resolution, the admiral ran along the shore all night with a prest sail, and forced several of the enemy's ships to cut from their anchors in Lagos-bay.

The next day, when he was with his fleet off Villa Nova, it fell calm, and, a little after day-break, ten sail of the enemy's men of war, and several small ships, were seen in the offing. The French no sooner discovered Sir George Rooke, than they stood away with their boats a-head, setting fire to some, and sinking others of their small craft, which yet did not

hinder several of them from falling into our hands, as a fire-ship likewise did, by dropping into the fleet in the night. The crew of this ship, being carried on board the flag-ship, and examined by the admiral, told him a very plausible tale, *viz.* That the French squadron consisted but of fifteen ships of the line, notwithstanding there were three flags, and had with them forty-six merchant-men and store-ships, that were bound either to Toulon, or to join M. D'Estrees. They said also, that the squadron had been becalmed off the cape, and that, having watered in the bay, they were bound directly into the Straits, without any intention of seeing our fleet.

This at first, with the hasty retreat of their men of war in the morning, and their deserting and burning their small vessels, gained a perfect belief with the admiral and the rest of the officers; but afterwards it was judged (and with reason too), that this precipitate retreat was purposely to amuse us, and thereby draw the whole squadron insensibly in to the enemy. About noon the sea breeze sprung up to W. N. W. and N. W. and then the admiral bore away along shore upon the enemy, discovering their strength the more the nearer he came to them, and at last counted about eighty sail; but the number with which they plyed up to him was not above sixteen, with three flags, the admiral, vice-admiral of the blue, and rear-admiral of the white. The vice-admiral of the blue stood off to sea, in order to weather our squadron, and fall in with the merchant-ships, whilst the body of their fleet lay promiscuously to leeward one of another as far as they could be seen, especially their biggest ships.

About three in the afternoon the Dutch vice-admiral sent Sir George Rooke advice, that he was now perfectly sensible of the fraud, as discovering plainly the enemy's whole fleet; but that, in his judgment, the best course that could be taken was, by all means to avoid fighting. Sir George differed with him in

that point, and had actually disposed all things for engaging the enemy; but reflecting that he should take upon himself the whole blame of this affair, if he fought contrary to the Dutch admiral's sentiments, he brought to, and then stood off with an easy sail, and at the same time dispatched the Sheerness, with orders to the small ships, that were on the coast, to endeavour to get along shore in the night, and save themselves in the Spanish ports; which advice, as it was seasonably suggested, so it was happily pursued, no less than fifty getting into the port of Cadiz only.*

I have already given so large an account of this affair, as well from foreign writers as our own, that I think it needless to say more here, except as to the personal conduct of the vice-admiral. His whole squadron consisted of no more than twenty-three ships of war; of these thirteen only were English, eight Dutch, and two Hamburghers. The fleet of merchantmen under his convoy was composed of four hundred sail of all nations, though the greater part of them were English ships. The fleet under M. Tourville consisted of one hundred and twenty sail, of which sixty-four were of the line, and eighteen three-deck ships; yet Sir George Rooke saved all the men of war; for he brought twelve of them to Kingsale, and the other got into Cadiz; and he likewise brought back with him sixty merchantmen, and, having sent the Lark with advice of his misfortune, he afterwards proceeded from Kingsale, with the largest ships, to join the grand fleet.

* The first account we had of this unlucky business was by a letter from Captain Littleton, commander of the Factor of Smyrna, which, I take it, was an hired man of war, that is, a merchantman turned into a man of war to strengthen the convoy. His letter gave the merchants some consolation, because he not only assured them, that his own, and between forty and fifty more ships, were safe at Cadiz, but that the admiral was escaped, and had carried off a great part of the fleet with him, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy.

One thing, indeed, is very remarkable with respect to this singular transaction; *viz.* That, while in France the people in general charged their admirals with not making the most of their advantage, and the admirals themselves charged each other with want of conduct, and neglect of duty, there was not so much as a single reflection made upon Sir George Rooke's behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was said in the Dutch gazettes to have gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the French by their conquest. On his return home, the merchants gave him their thanks; the king promoted him from being vice-admiral of the blue to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and soon after, as a farther mark of his favour and confidence, made him one of the lords-commissioners of the Admiralty; and, before the close of the year 1694, promoted him again from vice-admiral of the red to admiral of the blue.*

In the month of May, 1695, Admiral Rooke commanded the squadron which convoyed the king to Holland; and in the autumn of the same year, being then admiral of the white, he was also appointed admiral and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of seventy men of war and

* We must not imagine, however, that Sir George escaped all trouble in this affair; on the contrary, he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and that very strictly, though he was so very ill that he could scarcely stand upon his feet; and, therefore, was at last allowed a chair. He said, that when he parted from the grand fleet, he had a very brisk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were sent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He said further, that if his opinion had not been overruled, he might very probably have passed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heaviest sailers could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not suspect he was overruled by the majority of votes in the council of war, from any bad design, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his suspicion, that it was the whole French fleet in Lagos Bay; and for any squadron they were not afraid of them.

merchant ships under his care; and, having very successfully executed this commission, he remained several months in the Mediterranean with a very small force, where, nevertheless, he made a shift to preserve our trade from the insults of the enemy; and, at length, receiving orders to return, he executed them with so much prudence, that he arrived safely on the English coast on the 22d of April, 1696, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, from an apprehension, that the French fleet at Toulon would come up with him, to which he was much inferior in strength.

Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the Soundings, and to lie in such a station, as he should judge most proper for preventing the French fleet from getting into any port of France; but receiving intelligence, that the Toulon squadron was got safe into Brest, and the largest ships in the fleet being very foul, he thought fit to return, agreeably to his instructions, and put into Torbay.

There the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five sail of the line, Sir George Rooke formed the glorious project of burning the whole French fleet, or forcing them to take shelter in the harbour of Brest, while we bombarded all the adjacent coasts; but while he was meditating this great design, he unexpectedly received orders to return to London, and attend his duty at the board: yet, so desirous he was of being in action, and so thoroughly persuaded of the possibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he proposed the matter to the duke of Shrewsbury, who approved it, but found it requisite to lay his project before the privy council, where it was considered, till the season for putting it in execution was entirely over, and then declared a very prudent, well-concerted measure, and another admiral blamed for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimously of opinion,

that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of such importance.

Admiral Russel, in the spring of the year 1697, being declared earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the Admiralty, with a kind of absolute command, his presence was thought so necessary there, that Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet, which put to sea in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned, and scarcely half victualled, towards the latter end of June; as the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impossible to do any thing very considerable; and yet the summer's expedition gained him no small reputation, and that from an action bold in itself, through strictly just, and very beneficial to the nation. For as he was cruizing off the French coast, he met with a large fleet of Swedish merchantmen, and having obliged them to bring to, and submit to be searched, he found just grounds to believe, that their cargoes belonged most of them to French merchants; upon which he sent them, under the convoy of some frigates, into Plymouth. This made a great noise, the Swedish minister interposed, and some of our statesmen were inclined to disapprove Sir George's conduct.*

* We have the whole of this matter set in a clear light, in a small quarto pamphlet of two sheets, intitled, "A Short Account of the true State of the Case of the Swedish Merchant Fleet, lately brought up on their Voyage from France, by Admiral Rooke, and sent into Plymouth."

The account given in this pamphlet, of the fraud, runs thus: "The Swede did build a ship, of more or less tons, on his own account; whereupon he could safely make oath before the magistrate, that the same ship was his own, and did really belong to him, and was built at his proper costs and charges; and thereupon he obtained a pass for the said ship, as being a Swedish ship, built in Swedeland, and belonging to one of that king's subjects. This being done, the Swede sold and transported the very same ship to a Dutch, Lubeck, or Hamburgh merchant; who, in consideration of the other service, did give him one quarter, or eighth part (as they could best agree upon), in the said ship, on condition that the

But as he was a man not apt to take rash steps, and consequently seldom in the wrong, he was not of a temper to be frightened from his duty, or to be brought to desist from any thing he took to be right. Sir George therefore insisted, that the matter should be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty: where, upon the clearest evidence, it plainly appeared, that these Swedish ships were freighted by French merchants, partly with French goods, but chiefly with Indian merchandise, which had been taken out of English and Dutch ships; and that the Swedes had no further concern therein, than as they received 2 *per cent.* by way of gratification for lending their names, procuring passes, and taking other necessary precautions for screening the French merchants' effects; so that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize: and the clamour

Swede should always provide new passes as often as there should be occasion for them; and that the said ship should always go under the Swede's name, and by that means traffic unmolested to, and with France; which practice the Swede flattered himself that he might securely enough continue, without acting thereby against his conscience, or committing the least perjury by so doing; there being no occasion, according to the custom and laws of that country, to make oath a-fresh, for every other voyage, for getting of new passes, because the first oath suffices for good and all. So that, by this mental reservation, the Swede could obtain as many passes as he pleased, and for all that, his conscience not concerned in the least thereby. Nay, by the proofs made against the said Swedish fleet, taken from their own hand-writings, books, and letters, now under examination in the court of admiralty, it does manifestly appear, that, to take off all suspicion, and to obviate all objections and dangers that might befal such a ship, the foreign merchant ordered the Swede to make a bill of sale of the ship, in the Swede's own name, though he had not the least right to the said ship, nor did any part therein belong to him. Another artifice has also been used, the more easily to obtain the passes in Stockholm; *viz.* Some of those foreign merchants sent their servants thither to be made burghers, *pro forma*; and by this means they procured the passes, although such servant had neither estate nor money for himself, but was supplied by his master, who lived either in Holland, at Lubeck, or at Hamburgh, or elsewhere, upon whose account this glorious trade was carried on."

that had been raised against Sir George Rooke, was converted into general applause.*

He was again ordered to sea, though it was very late in the year, and continued on the French coasts till towards the month of October, making such detachments as were necessary for securing our own homeward-bound trade, and that of the Dutch; which he performed very successfully, as the gazettes of that nation gratefully acknowledge; and the campaign and the war ending together, he gave the necessary orders for laying up the great ships, and then returned to town, where he was received with equal satisfaction by all parties, having as yet done little to disoblige those who afterwards persecuted him with the utmost rancour.

This violent resentment was chiefly owing to his conduct in parliament; for being next year elected

* We may easily guess at the evidence upon which these ships were declared lawful prize, from the following letter of instruction, written by a French merchant, to John Conrad Doberik, dated July 26, 1696.

"I thank you, that you will help Martin Francen. I have bought a fly-boat here, of 250 tons for a good friend, and would gladly let her sail under your name, on condition that you should have a certain profit for it; and assuring myself, that you will not refuse me, seeing it can be done without prejudice to you. I have caused the bill of sale to be made in your name; *viz.* That I have bought the said ship for your account and adventure. Now I would fain have a skipper come from Stockholm, who is a burgher there, and I judge it to be necessary, 1st, That a notary's bill of sale be sent over. 2dly, That a declaration be made before a notary, and witnesses, that the said ship doth belong to you. 3dly, That you write a letter to the magistrate of Stockholm, to grant you to pass; and 4thly, To write a letter to Mr. Conrad, to send such a master with a pass, with order to follow my direction whilst you are in Spain. When you come hither, we shall agree what you shall have for each pass that you shall send for here. The declaration before a notary I shall send you to sign, and the witnesses who subscribe shall be Luke Williamson, Marcus Begman, and the broker; they not knowing otherwise, but that I bought the ship for your account; in this manner, no pass can be denied, and when once a pass is taken out, one may always be had, &c."

member for Portsmouth, and voting mostly with those that were called Tories, great pains were taken to ruin him in the king's opinion; but, to the immortal honour of King William, when pressed to remove Sir George Rooke from his seat at the Admiralty-board, he answered plainly, I WILL NOT. "Sir George Rooke," continued his Majesty, "served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him, for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the House of Commons." An answer truly worthy of a British prince, as it tends to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and what is essential thereto, the liberty of parliament. The whole year 1699 was spent in peace, so that Sir George Rooke had leisure to attend his duty in the house; which he did with very great constancy, and behaved there as he thought became him; but was very rarely a speaker, though not at all deficient in that particular, as appeared, when he was heard at the bar, on the business of the Smyrna fleet in 1693. But in the spring of the year 1700, a war broke out in the north, which had almost totally overturned the balance of power in that part of Europe, through a shameful confederacy formed against Charles XII. of Sweden, then in a manner a child, which moved King William to send a fleet thither to his assistance; which was undoubtedly the wisest foreign measure in that whole reign; and, as it was well concerted, so it was very prudently and happily executed; for Sir George Rooke, who was entrusted with the command of the combined fleet of the maritime powers, did their business effectually, by succouring the Swedes, without oppressing the Danes; as I have shewn in its proper place, and have remarked, that the king of Sweden, upon this occasion, gave a noble instance of his early genius, by penetrating Sir George Rooke's orders, from the consideration of his conduct.

Sir George Rooke was elected in the new parlia-

ment of 1701, for the town of Portsmouth; which was not then considered in that light in which navy boroughs have since stood; if it had, they would have obliged the court in their members. Bishop Burnet tells us, that though the ministry had a clear majority, in whatever related to the king's business, yet the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a majority in chusing the Speaker, and in determining controverted elections. The truth of the matter was, the ministry persuaded the king to abet the interest of Sir Thomas Littleton, against Robert Harley, Esq. afterwards the famous earl of Oxford; and with this view his Majesty spoke to Sir George Rooke, Sir Charles Hedges, and several other persons of distinction, in favour of Sir Thomas; which, however, had not the desired effect, since they voted for Mr. Harley, who was accordingly placed in the chair. I mention this, to shew the steadiness of Sir George Rooke, and to prove, that he was a man who acted upon principle, and was not governed in his political conduct either by hopes or fears.*

Yet Sir George was for the war against France, and for carrying it on vigorously; and, as I shall shew hereafter, he was uniform in his conduct, though he had the misfortune to be censured for want of vigour, merely because he shewed too strong an inclination that way. I do not say this from any desire to the maintaining paradoxes, or playing with words; but because I take it to be the fair truth, and that I could not express it otherwise, without doing his memory injustice.

Upon the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, Sir

* It was certainly wrong in the king to interfere in this matter at all, because he ran too great a risk, in case of a disappointment; and experience will always shew, that in the end such princes are safest, and most happy, as suffer the machine of government to roll on, according to its natural construction, without tampering at all; which serves only to spoil it, and expose them extremely.

George was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, as also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom; and, upon the declaration of war against France, it was resolved, that Sir George Rooke should command the grand fleet sent against Cadiz, his grace the duke of Ormond having the command in chief of the land forces. I shall not enter into the history of that expedition, because I have already given the best account of it that was in my power: I shall only say here, that when it appeared to be a thing very difficult, if not impracticable, for the land-forces to make themselves masters of the place, Sir George Rooke proposed bombarding it; which occasioned a long representation from the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, setting forth, that such a proceeding would entirely alienate the affection of the Spaniards from the house of Austria; and as Sir George could not but discern the inconsistency of this method with the manifesto which had been published in the duke of Ormond's name and his own, he was prevailed upon to desist; and when he had done this, he judged it best to return home both with the fleet and army; the land and sea-officers unanimously concurring, in that respect, with him in opinion; excepting only the duke of Ormond, and Baron Sparr, who protested against it. Upon this opinion, for returning home, the charge was founded against him, for want of vigour, whereas nothing can be more clear, than that Sir George was inclined to act more vigorously than his instructions would permit; and therefore when he saw that proposal rejected, and that nothing could be done abroad, thought it the wisest way to come home. Of this he was certainly the best judge, since he had been often in those parts before, and knew very well, if once the Spaniards took a resolution, fair words would not go far towards making them alter it.

On the 19th of September, 1702, the fleet sailed, and had for several days a fair but very gentle wind;

and, in their passage home, the admiral on the 6th of October received an account from Captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the escort of a strong French squadron, were got into the harbour of Vigo; upon which Sir George resolved to attack them; and, having declared this resolution the next day in a council of flag-officers, they concurred with him, and it was unanimously resolved to put it in execution; accordingly the fleet sailed for Vigo, and on the 11th of October came before the harbour of Rodondello, where the French commodore, to do him justice, had neglected nothing that was necessary for putting the place into the best posture of defence possible, which, however, did not signify much; for a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war of the line of battle, and all the fire ships, were ordered in, the frigates and bomb-vessels were to follow the rear of the detachment, and the great ships were to move after them, while the army was to land near Rodondello. The whole service was performed under Sir George's directions with admirable conduct and bravery, all the ships destroyed or taken, prodigious damage done to the enemy, and immense wealth acquired by the allies. Afterwards the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, though he was much indisposed with the gout, congratulated each other on this glorious success, and then continued their voyage home, arriving safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; and the admiral soon after came up to London.

While the fleet and army were thus employed abroad, her Majesty had thought fit, from the advice of her ministers, to call a new parliament at home, to meet on the 20th of October; of which parliament Sir George was, in his absence, chosen a member for Portsmouth; and, as soon as he came to take his seat in the house, the Speaker was directed, in the name of the Commons of England, to return him thanks; which he did in the following terms:

" Sir George Rooke,

" You are now returned to this house after a most glorious expedition: her Majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England: for this, thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to Almighty God. There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory, the duke of Ormond and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land forces. In former times admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately, but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together; you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country; common victories bring terrors to the conquered; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England.

" France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it. The wealth of Spain and ships of France are by this victory brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequences, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

" No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written, in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond, and your merit, that you should stand recorded in the registers of this house, as the sole instruments of this glorious victory; therefore this house came to the following resolution:

" Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, for the great and signal service performed by them, for the nation, at sea and land; which thanks I now return you."

To this Sir George Rooke answered:

" Mr. Speaker,

" I am now under great difficulty how to express myself on this very great occasion: I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to yourself, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks.

" I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to my grave, and convey it to my posterity, without spot or blemish, by a constant affection, and zealous perseverance in the queen's and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will; and though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure you, I shall never be more faulty.

" I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it. And, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me to do my best in the service of my country, I shall always take this as a particular tie upon me to do right and justice to your service upon all occasions."

But, notwithstanding the queen's having celebrated this action by a day of thanksgiving, that her example had been imitated by the States-general, this thanks of the House of Commons, and the queen's giving a seat to Sir George Rooke in the privy-council, it was resolved to inquire into his conduct in the House of Lords, the reason of which is very candidly given by Bishop Burnet; he tells us, that the duke of Ormond was extremely angry with Sir George Rooke, had complained loudly of his behaviour at Cadiz, upon his return home; and though he was angry,

wards softened, that is, in the bishop's opinion, by being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, and so willing to drop his complaint, yet he had spoken of the matter to so many lords, that it was impossible to avoid an inquiry, though he might not then desire it.

A committee was accordingly appointed by the House of Lords to examine into the whole affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by considering the instructions and other papers relating to the Cadiz expedition, but by sending for Sir George Rooke, and the principal sea and land officers, all of whom were very strictly examined. In his defence the bishop admits, that Sir George arraigned his instructions very freely, and took very little care of a ministry, which, according to this prelate's account, took so much care of him.

The truth of the matter was, Sir George set the whole affair in its proper light. He shewed that, throughout the whole expedition, the enemy had great advantages: for, if it was considered on the peaceable side, they had a king of Spain, called to the succession by the will of the last king, and acknowledged by the best part of the nation; whereas the allies had not then set up any other king, but invited the Spaniards, in general terms, to support the interest of the house of Austria, which was very inconsistent with the temper and genius of a nation always distinguished for their loyalty: that, on the side of war, the instructions seemed to contradict themselves; for, whereas they were impowered to use hostilities, the declaration promised peace and protection; that, consequently, whoever executed these instructions, would be liable either to a charge of shewing too much pity and concern for those people, or of not acting vigorously in the support of the common cause; and Sir George observed, that, by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either, he had drawn upon himself both these charges.

For, whereas he inclined to gentle methods when

they first came before the place, the construction given to this was, that he intended only to amuse and make a shew, but that, finding this indulgence had no effect, and that, after the outrages committed at Port St. Maries, there was nothing to be hoped for from the Spaniards, he proposed bombarding the place; which must have succeeded, but that the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt protested against this, as an action that would alienate the people entirely from the interest of the house of Austria; he then thought that, as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only measure left was, to return home. The committee made their report, and the house passed a vote, which fully justified Sir George Rooke's conduct, the duke thinking it proper to be absent upon that occasion.*

In the year 1703 Sir George Rooke was again at sea, but waited so long for the Dutch, that the scheme, which was a very good one, and entirely of his own projecting, became impracticable; and as he was restrained from sailing, when he desired, by orders from the lord high-admiral, so he had orders for sailing, when he thought the proper time was past; which, however, he obeyed, and continued for about a month upon the French coasts; and, having greatly alarmed them, returned back with the fleet, having done less, indeed, than he could have wished, but not less than might have been expected from a fleet in such a condition as his was, sailing so late in the year. His enemies, indeed, said then, as they said

* The most natural account of the duke's behaviour is, that when he saw the unreasonableness of his own heat, and the justice of the admiral's sentiments, clearly made out, he was ashamed of the trouble he had given the house, and, as a man of honour, retired, that his presence might not put any of his friends under difficulties. It must be likewise observed, that the House of Lords was not at all disposed to favour Rooke's party, but rather the contrary, as appears by the whole proceedings of that session; so that nothing can be more partial than to ascribe this vote to partiality.

often, that he intended to do nothing; which can scarcely be believed, since he was extremely ill when he took the command upon him; growing worse, he desired to resign it; but afterwards, finding himself better, put to sea. This certainly looked as if he had the expedition much at heart; for, though some men trifle with the affairs of their country, yet certainly no man, who had common sense, ever played the fool with his own health and safety.

On his return Sir George had a severe fit of the gout, which obliged him to go down to Bath; and then it was given out, that he did this because he was laid aside. But the contrary very speedily appeared; party-measures were not yet so strongly supported as to produce any event like this, and therefore, upon his coming to town again, Sir George was as well received at court as ever, stood in the same light with his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and was soon after employed in a station worthy of his character, and of the high posts he had already filled.*

A resolution having been taken by the British ministry to send over King Charles III. of Spain on board our fleet, in the spring of the year 1704, choice was made of Sir George Rooke to command the ships of war employed for that purpose; and he shewed himself extremely active and vigilant in this service. He was at Portsmouth in the beginning of the month of February, where he did every thing that could be expected from him to hasten the expedition; but finding that the Dutch were backward in sending the

* I have already given a full account of this matter, and therefore it is unnecessary to detain the reader long upon it here. I cannot, however, help intimating, that there seems to have been some secret at the bottom of this undertaking, with which, hitherto, the world is not thoroughly acquainted, and therefore cannot so perfectly judge of the admiral's conduct; it may be, posterity will obtain from memoirs not hitherto published, an exact detail of the management of the war in Spain, which would bring many singular passages to light.

ships that were to have joined the fleet, and that the king was extremely eager to be gone, he very generously made a proposal for the furtherance of that design; which shews him to have been as hearty towards the common cause as any admiral then living; for he offered to proceed with his Catholic Majesty, without waiting for the Dutch, if he could have assurance given him, that he should have proper assistance sent after him to Lisbon; and this assurance, upon which he insisted, was nothing more than putting Sir Cloudesley Shovel at the head of that reinforcement.

This proposition was accepted, and Sir George sailed on the 12th of February, from St. Helen's, and continued his voyage so happily to Lisbon, that he arrived there safely on the 25th; the king of Spain expressing the highest satisfaction in respect to the admiral, and the zeal and diligence he had shewn in his service.* That this proceeded entirely from sentiments of public spirit, and not from any views of ingratiating himself with that monarch, or any other foreign prince, is evident from Sir George's refusing to gratify the kings of Spain and Portugal, in a point of ceremony which he thought injurious to the honour of the British flag, of which we have already given a large account; and yet neither of the kings took this at all amiss, but treated him with the same regard and esteem as before.

When the expedition against Barcelona was first set on foot, Sir George Rooke immediately concurred to the utmost of his power, and the fleet arrived safely before that city in the beginning of May; the troops on board were, with great difficulty, made up two

* That prince presented Sir George Rooke with a sword the hilt of which was set with diamonds; a buckle for a hatband, adorned in like manner, and also a button and loop. He gave Captain Wishart his picture set with diamonds, and two hundred guineas. One hundred guineas to Sir George Rooke's Secretary, and various other presents to the rest of the officers.

thousand men, by volunteers from the fleet; and yet, with this handful of forces, the place might possibly have been taken, if the partizans of the house of Austria, instead of holding private consultations, had ventured upon some vigorous resolution, and executed it immediately; but they met so often, and to so little purpose, that King Philip's viceroy discovered the design, and arrested the persons who were at the head of it; which frustrated the whole affair, and engaged even the gallant and enterprising prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, to desire the admiral to re-embark the troops, which he accordingly did.

The attempt on Barcelona having thus miscarried, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from England, chaced the Brest squadron into Toulon; and having afterwards passed through the Straits' mouth, joined Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, off Lagos; and continued cruising, for about a month, in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of Spain. On the 17th of July, being in the road of Tetuan, a council of war was called, in which several schemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable; at last, Sir George Rooke proposed the attacking of Gibraltar, which was agreed to, and immediately put in execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21st of the same month, the troops, which were but eighteen hundred men, were landed the same day; the admiral gave the signal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and, by the glorious courage of the English seamen, the place was taken on the 24th, as the reader will sea by Sir George Rooke's own account,*

* This is to be found in the London Gazette, No. 4045, and whoever considers the consequence of this action, and compares it with the modesty of Sir George Rooke's expressions, will need no other character of the man.

"The 17th of July, the fleet being then about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catharine, wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar; and, accordingly the fleet sailed thither,

which we have placed at the bottom of the page. After this remarkable service, the Dutch admiral thought of nothing but returning home, and actually detach-

and the 21st got into that bay; and, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of 1800, with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on shore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. His highness having posted his men there, sent a summons to the governor to surrender the place, for the service of his Catholic Majesty; which he rejected with great obstinacy; the admiral, on the 22d in the morning, gave orders that the ships which had been appointed to cannonade the town, under the command of Rear-admiral Byng, and Rear-admiral Vanderdussen, as also those which were to batter the south mole-head, commanded by Captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, should range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not possibly get into their places, till the day was spent. In the mean time, to amuse the enemy, Captain Whitaker was sent with some boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns at the mole. The 23d, soon after break of day, the ships being all placed, the admiral gave the signal for beginning the cannonade; which was performed with very great fury, above 15,000 shot being made in five or six hours time against the town, insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole-head: whereupon the admiral, considering that by gaining the fortification they should of consequence reduce the town, ordered Captain Whitaker, with all the boats, armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it; which was performed with great expedition. But Captain Hicks, and Captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed ashore with their pinnaces, and some other boats, before the rest could come up; whereupon the enemy sprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about sixty. However, our men kept possession of the great platform which they had made themselves masters of, and Captain Whitaker landed with the rest of the seamen which had been ordered upon this service; they advanced, and took a redoubt, or small bastion, half-way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon. The admiral then sent a letter to the governor, and, at the same time, a message to the prince of Hesse to send him a peremptory summons; which his highness did accordingly; and, on the 24th, in the morning, the governor desiring to capitulate, hostages were exchanged, and the capitulation being concluded, the prince marched into the town in the evening, and took possession of the land and north mole gates, and the out-works. The articles are in substance as follow:

ed six men of war to Lisbon; so little appearance was there of any engagement.

But, on the 9th of August, the French fleet, under the command of the Count De Thoulouse, was first seen at sea, and appeared to be by much the strongest that had been equipped during this whole war; the English admiral, however, resolved to do all that lay in his power to force an engagement. I have already given a fair account of the battle which followed off Malaga, and also the relation published by the French court; but I purposely reserved Sir

1. That the garrison, officers, and soldiers, may depart, with their necessary arms and baggage, and the officers, and other gentlemen of the town may also carry their horses with them; they may, likewise, have what boats they shall have occasion for.

2. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon, of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.

3. That they may take provisions of bread, wine, and flesh, for six days march.

4. That none of the officers baggage be searched, although it be carried out in chests or trunks. That the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with conveniency, may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have the liberty to make use of some carts.

5. That such inhabitants, and soldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, shall have the same privileges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals shall remain untouched, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to King Charles III. as their lawful king and master.

6. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition, or provisions and arms, that may be in the city.

7. That all the French, and subjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

"The town is extremely strong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition. The officers, who have viewed the fortifications, affirm, that there never was such an attack as the seamen made; for that fifty men might have defended those works against thousands. Ever since our coming to the bay, great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills; but none of them have thought fit to advance towards us."

George Rooke's own account, as published by authority, for this place, to which, indeed, it properly belongs. It was dated from on board the Royal Katharine, off Cape St. Vincent, August 27, O. S. 1704, and addressed to his royal highness Prince George of Denmark. It runs thus:

"On the 9th instant, returning from watering our ships on the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly, our scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, consisted of sixty-six sail, and were about ten leagues to windward of us. A council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was determined to lie to the eastward of Gibraltar, to receive and engage them. But perceiving that night, by the report of their signal guns, that they wrought from us, we followed them in the morning, with all the sail we could make.

"On the 11th, we forced one of the enemy's ships ashore, near Fuengorolo; the crew quitted her, set her on fire, and she blew up immediately. We continued still pursuing them; and the 12th, not hearing any of their guns all night, nor seeing any of their scouts in the morning, our admiral had a jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, slip between us and the shore to the westward; so that a council of war was called, wherein it was resolved, That, in case we did not see the enemy before night, we should make the best of our way to Gibraltar; but standing in to the shore about noon, we discovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going very large. We immediately made all the sail we could, and continued the chace all night.

"On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, we were within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed their line and lay-to to receive us. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-

four gallies; they were very strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear, to supply which, most of the gallies were divided into those quarters. In the centre was Monsieur De Thoulouse, with the white squadron; in the van the white and blue, and in the rear the blue; each admiral had his vice and rear-admirals: our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admiral, and rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the centre; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch the rear.

"The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the Lark and Newport, and two fire-ships, to lie to the windward of us, that, in case the enemy's van should push through our line with their gallies and fire-ships they might give them some diversion.

"We bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little after ten o'clock, when, being about half gun-shot from them, they set all their sails at once, and seemed to intend to stretch ahead and weather us, so that our admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral, to stay for him, of which he took no notice, put the signal out, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Katharine, St. George, and the Shrewsbury. About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night, the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day, within three leagues one of another, repairing our defects; and at night they filled and stood to the northward.

"On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the westward of us; but a little before noon we had a breeze of wind easterly, with which we bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon; it being too late to engage, we brought to, and lay by with our heads to the northward all night.

" On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being still easterly, hazy weather, and having no sight of the enemy or their scouts, we filled and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for Cadiz; but being advised from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not pass the Straits, we concluded they had been so severely treated as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

" The admiral says, he must do the officers the justice to say, that every man in the line did his duty, without giving the least umbrage for censure or reflection, and that he never observed the true English spirit so apparent and prevalent in our seamen as on this occasion.

" This battle is so much the more glorious to her Majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port, not to mention the great use of their gallies, in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men, as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted by the bravery and good conduct of our officers, and the undaunted courage of our seamen."

On the return of Sir George Rooke to Portsmouth, and coming up from thence to Windsor, where the court then resided, he was extremely well received by the queen, and his royal highness the lord high admiral. But, unluckily for him, the battle off Malaga was, some way or other, compared to that of Blenheim, fought the same year; which made the matter of fact a point of party-debate, and, in the addresses sent up from all parts of her Majesty's dominions, the Whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the duke of Marlborough's success, without saying a word of the victory at sea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon both; and, to say the truth, both these battles were decisive; that of Blenheim put an end to the influence of France in the

empire, as that off Malaga extinguished the French power at sea.

Among these addresses, the following was the most remarkable; it was presented by Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bart. and James Buller, Esq. knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall, attended by the representatives of boroughs in that county, and the principal gentry, introduced by the Lord Granville, lord-warden of the stannaries: the address itself being penned by a relation of his, whose writings will always do honour to the English language.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY:

"Permit, Madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, and whole body of the tinners of Cornwall, with hearts full of all dutiful acknowledgments, to approach your Majesty, who want words to express their gratitude, their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of your Majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

"Never was success greater in all its circumstances, a design more secretly carried on, so effectually supported from home, so vigorously executed abroad, on which no less than the liberty of Europe depended; a cause worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy the greatest of generals, which will transmit to all future ages your Majesty's name truly great; great for deliverance, not for oppression.

"But it is not enough that your Majesty triumphs at land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so ill a condition, by being so long out, in such want of ammunition, by taking Gibraltar without gallies, which were of so great service to the enemy; all these disadvantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers, the courage of your seamen during the engagement, but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage after it, whereby they per-

fected a victory, which otherwise, in human probability, must have ended in an overthrow; an action as great in itself as happy in its consequences.

"May your Majesty never want such commanders by sea and land, such administration in the management of the public treasure, which so much contributes to the success of armies and of fleets.

"May your Majesty never want, what sure you never can, the hearts, the hands, the purses, of all your people. Had not we, Madam, of this county inherited the loyalty of our ancestors, which your Majesty has been pleased so graciously to remember, such obligations must have engaged the utmost respect; and such all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and government, as with one voice we daily pray, LONG LIVE QUEEN ANNE, to whom many nations owe their preservation."

This, and some other addresses of the like nature, alarmed the ministry extremely; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George Rooke from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible he must either give way or a change very speedily happen in the administration. Yet even the weight of the ministry could not prevent the House of Commons from complimenting the queen, expressly upon the advantages obtained at sea under the conduct of our admiral; but the House of Lords, who were under a more immediate influence at that time, was entirely silent; the commons, however, as if they intended to push this matter as far as it would go, presented another address on the 2d of November, in which they desired her Majesty to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions at sea and land.

This determined the point, and Sir George Rooke perceiving that, as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest with those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs

of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking the fortress of Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle off Malaga, the last engagement which, during this war, happened between these two nations at sea, he was constrained to quit his command: and, as the Tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his post, immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, so the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendency to the like good purpose, with regard to Sir George Rooke: such is the effect of party-spirit in general! such the heat with which it proceeds! such its dangerous and destructive effects, with respect to the welfare of the state!

After this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir George Rooke passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and his strict adherence to the Tories, made him the darling of one set of people, and exposed him no less to the aversion of another; which is the reason that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character from the writings of those who flourished in the same period of time. For my part, I have studied his actions, and his behaviour, and from thence have collected what I have delivered of him, without favour or prejudice: he was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies; but especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a

British admiral; and as he was first in command, was first also in danger.

In party matters, he was, perhaps, too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors: he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the House of Commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times, but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour, and popular applause; but above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it.

In his private life he was a good husband and a kind master, lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune: so moderate, that, when he came to make his will, it surprised those that were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in few words. "I do not leave much," said he, "but what I leave was honestly gotten, it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing." As to this last article, I cannot but take notice that, even after he was laid aside, a privy seal was offered him for passing his accounts, but he refused it, and made

them up in the ordinary way, and with all the exactness imaginable.

The gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave, on the 24th of January 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir George was thrice married; first, to Mrs. Mary Howe, the daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold Berwick, in the county of Wilts, baronet: next, to Mrs. Mary Lutterel, daughter of Colonel Francis Lutterel, of Dunster-castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child-bed of her first child, in the month of July, 1702; and lastly, to Mrs. Katherine Knatchbull, daughter to Sir Thomas Knatchbull, of Mershem-hatch, in the county of Kent, baronet; by which wives he left only one son, born of the second, George Rooke, Esq. the sole heir of his fortune.

But his executors took care to secure his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with an excellent character of the deceased inscribed thereon.

GEORGE CHURCHILL, ESQ.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, ONE OF THE LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL'S COUNCIL, GROOM OF THE BED-CHAMBER TO PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK, &c.

As there are some who seem born to easy fortunes, and to a safe and quiet passage through the world; so there are others unlucky enough to be continually exposed to envy, though not excluded from honours. This arises from different causes, but chiefly from the want of popular talents, of which many are deprived by nature, and not a few neglect the use. I cannot say whether the first was the misfortune, or the second the fault, of the gentleman whose life I am at present to consider; but certain it is, that few men were more exposed to envy than he; especially if we remember, that he rose no higher in his profession

than might seem the just reward of his services. But, however he might be persecuted by this spirit in his life-time, there seems to be not the least reason that the effects of popular dislike should attend his memory; and, therefore, it shall be my business to give as clear and candid an account of his actions as I can; and this without any bias either from favour or prejudice.

He was the second son, his grace the duke of Marlborough being the eldest, of Sir Winston Churchill, Knt. clerk of the board of green-cloth, and of a worthy family in Dorsetshire. He was born in the year 1652, some say in February, 1653, and entered early into the sea-service, where he always behaved with great courage and reputation, and this, added to the interest of his family, procured him the command of a man of war before he was quite thirty, which was a thing very unusual in these days. In the reign of King James II. he was made captain of the Newcastle, a fourth rate; and soon after the revolution he had a third rate given him. In the famous battle of La Hogue he commanded the St. Andrew, a second rate, in which he performed as good service as any officer in the fleet, according to all the accounts that were published of that engagement; and yet, very soon after, he quitted the service, for which several reasons were assigned; but the true one is said to have been the promotion of Colonel Aylmer to the rank of rear-admiral, who being a younger officer, Mr. Churchill could not think of serving under him, but retired, and lived privately for some years.

I shall not take upon me to censure this part of his conduct; though I must say, that I think it would be a very difficult task to justify it: since every man is bound to serve his country, whether he be rewarded or not; and, therefore, every resignation of this sort is usually attributed to a narrow and selfish spirit, though it is not impossible it may spring from a nobler principle; however, it is better certainly for

an officer to avoid all those steps in his conduct that are liable to such sinister interpretations

In the year 1699, he had an opportunity of coming again into business; for the current then bore so hard on the earl of Orford, who was at the head of the Admiralty, that he found it necessary to resign; upon which a new commission issued, and another before the close of the year, in which Admiral George Churchill was, amongst others, included, and in which he continued nearly two years; and then King William was pleased to declare Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral, which threw him out again, though but for a very short time; since, upon the accession of Queen Anne, and the promotion of her consort, Prince George of Denmark, to be lord high-admiral, he was appointed one of his council, and was restored to his rank in the navy, which was chiefly owing to the high degree of favour in which he stood with his royal highness; who, among many other virtues which adorned his character, was for none more remarkable than for steadily supporting such as he had once honoured with his friendship.

His being made admiral of the blue, had the same effect upon Admiral Aylmer, as it is confidently said the promotion of that gentleman had a few years before upon Mr. Churchill; for he immediately quitted the service, and remained for several years unemployed. They were rivals, and would not act together. Churchill repaired to Portsmouth, and hoisted his flag on board the Triumph, though it is probable he did not go to sea that year. But, whatever satisfaction Mr. Churchill might receive from this victory over his rival, it is very certain that he could not be said to enjoy much pleasure in the post to which he was raised; for, during the six years he sat at that board, as his royal highness's council was continually attacked, so Mr. Churchill, in particular, had a double portion of that spite and resentment devolved upon him, with which our great losses at sea

inspired many of our merchants; and this was very probably increased by the warmth of the admiral's temper, who had a very free way of speaking, and took, perhaps, too great liberties with men of such importance.

For, as the naval power of Great Britain arises absolutely from her extensive trade, and the number of ships employed therein, it is very certain that there is a great respect due to those who carry on that trade, and are thereby so very instrumental to the wealth, prosperity, and grandeur of this nation, which are all founded upon its commerce. However, Mr. Churchill maintained himself, by his interest with Prince George, not only against the clamours of the many, and the intrigues of the few, but against several addresses and representations of the House of Lords, which were particularly calculated for his removal. He was chosen representative for the borough of St. Alban's in the first parliament which met after the accession of Queen Anne: and after the month of May, 1703, he probably never again took any command at sea.

His royal highness dying on the 28th of October, 1708, the commission which impowered his council to act, naturally terminated; and thenceforward Admiral Churchill led a private life, at a pleasant house he had in Windsor-Park, where he constructed the finest aviary that was ever seen in Britain, which he had collected with great care, and at a vast expence. This collection of birds, at his decease, he left to his two intimate friends and patrons, James, duke of Ormond, and Arthur, earl of Torrington. He was never married, but dying in very good circumstances, he left the best part of his fortune to his natural son. He deceased on the 8th of May, 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried, with great funeral solemnity, in the south isle of Westminster-Abbey, where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with an elegant latin inscription.

SIR DAVID MITCHELL, KNT.

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE RED, ONE OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY, AND OF THE COUNCIL TO PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK, &c.

Among other reasons, of which there are many, for preserving, as far as possible, the memoirs of deserving persons deceased, who have rose to that degree of eminence by the services they have rendered their country, this is not the least considerable; *viz.* to engage others to proceed as they have done, and to deserve like honours from a like conduct. It is certainly the highest encouragement to behave well, to see that in preceding times men have ascended thereby to the highest honours of which their professions were capable; and this without the countenance of great relations, or the assistance of any other friends than those procured to them by the display of their own desert. But, if this be a thing of consequence in every situation of life, it is much more so in respect to naval affairs; for as there are none of the subjects of Great Britain more useful, or who reflect more honour upon their country, than such as are employed in the navy, so there is nothing that contributes so highly to the support of that generous spirit, and invincible courage, by which they have been always distinguished, as the thoughts of their being able to rise in their own profession, by mere dint of merit, and without borrowing any help from those kinds of arts, to which, from their education and manner of living, they must be necessarily strangers. This it was that chiefly induced me to preserve such fragments as I could collect in relation to the life of Sir David Mitchell, who was promoted without envy, lived with universal reputation, and died with the character of an experienced seaman, and a worthy honest gentleman.

He was descended from a very reputable family in

Scotland, though of small fortune; and at the age of sixteen, was put out apprentice to the master of a trading vessel who lived at Leith; with him Mr. Mitchell continued seven years, and afterwards served as a mate on board several other ships, especially in northern voyages; by which he not only acquired great experience as a seaman, but also attained the knowledge of most modern languages; which, with his superior skill in the mathematics, and other genteel accomplishments, recommended him to the favour of his officers, after he had been pressed to sea in the Dutch wars. At the revolution he was made a captain, and being remarkable for his thorough acquaintance with maritime affairs, and known to be firmly attached to that government, he was very soon distinguished and promoted; so that in April 1693, he commanded the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland, and having, by this means, an opportunity of conversing freely and frequently with his Majesty, became much in his favour, that prince, the 8th of February proceeding, having made him rear-admiral of the blue; and not long after, appointed him one of the grooms of his bed-chamber. In 1694, Sir David Mitchell, being then a knight, and rear-admiral of the red, sailed with Admiral Russel into the Mediterranean; and on the admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a squadron left in those seas; in the execution of which commission he behaved himself with great reputation; and, in 1696, served under Sir George Rooke, with whom he lived in great friendship, notwithstanding he owed his rise and fortunes, in some measure, to the kindness of Admiral Russel, in process of time earl of Orford.

I have already taken notice, in the former volume, that he brought over, and carried back, his Czarish Majesty, Peter the Great, emperor of Russia, who was so extremely pleased with the company of Sir David Mitchell, from whom, he often professed, he

learned more of maritime affairs than from any other person whatever, that he offered him the highest preferments in Muscovy, if he would have accompanied him thither; but his proposal was not agreeable either to Sir David's circumstances or inclinations; for having, on the death of Sir Fleetwood Sheppard, been appointed gentleman-usher of the black rod, and having also his pay as a vice-admiral, he had no reason to quit the service of his native country, even to oblige so great a prince.

In his passage from Holland, his Czarish Majesty asked Admiral Mitchell, who gave satisfactory answers to all his maritime questions, the manner in use in the British navy, of correcting sailors who deserved punishment; when the admiral mentioning keel-hauling, among many others, that prince desired it might be explained to him, not by words, but by experiment; which the admiral excused, as not having then an offender who deserved it. The Czar replied, "Take one of my men," but Sir David informed him, that all on board his ship were under the protection of the laws of England, and he was accountable for every man there, according to those laws, upon which that monarch persisted no farther in his request. The king likewise directed Admiral Mitchell to wait on the Czar to Portsmouth, and put the fleet out to sea which lay at Spithead, on purpose to entertain him with a mock engagement, which he had seen also in Holland, but not so much to his satisfaction, it affording his Imperial Majesty so great pleasure, that he declared he thought an English admiral a much happier man than a Czar of Muscovy.

His skill and conduct as a seaman, and his perfect acquaintance with every branch of naval affairs, rendered him extremely useful, as his polite behaviour made him agreeable to every administration. Upon the accession of Queen Anne, Sir David Mitchell was appointed one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral, in which honour-

able office he continued till the year before the prince's death, when he was laid aside; but upon another change of affairs he was sent over to Holland, with a commission of great importance, which was, to expostulate with their High Mightinesses, about the deficiences of their quotas during the continuance of the war, which commission he discharged with great honour. This was the last public act of his life; for, soon after his return to England, he died, at his seat called Popes, in Hertfordshire, on the 1st of June, 1710, with as fair a reputation as any man of his rank and character could acquire, and lies buried in the parish-church of Hatfield in the county before-mentioned.

SIR ANDREW LEAKE.

This gentleman was son of Mr. Andrew Leake, merchant of Lowestoffe, in Suffolk, and, being brought up to the sea-service, was appointed commander of the Roe-buck fire-ship on the 17th of August 1690; and, in July 1693, he was given the command of the Greenwich. This ship was one of those belonging to the grand fleet, and after that armament, returned into port for the winter; the Greenwich was ordered to cruise at the entrance of the Channel, in company with several other third and fourth rates. His zeal in his country's service procured him success in his several pursuits, and the applause of his superiors. He was probably continued in commission during the war, but at the peace of Ryswic he appears to have retired for a short time to the place of his nativity, to which town, we are told by its historian, Gillingwater, he ever proved himself a warm and indefatigable friend. It is mentioned to his honour that, in the year 1698, the chapel belonging to Lowestoffe being in a ruinous state, and the parish-church at too great a distance to be frequented

by the aged and infirm, Captain Leake, in conjunction with other public spirited men, caused it to be rebuilt. In the year 1700, Captain Leake again returned to the service, and was appointed commodore of a small squadron sent to Newfoundland for the protection of the fishery. In 1702 he was appointed captain of the Torbay, of eighty guns, and sailed soon afterwards under the command of Sir George Rooke, in the expedition against Cadiz. At the attack made on Vigo, Admiral Hopson, who led the division, shifted his flag from the Prince George into the Torbay. In this action, the behaviour of Captain Leake was truly exemplary. To his activity and personal exertions, it was chiefly owing that the flames of the ship were so speedily extinguished, after the Torbay had been grappled with a fire-ship. So highly meritorious was his conduct on this occasion, that immediately after the return of the fleet into port, he received the honour of knighthood. He was now removed to the Grafton, a ship of seventy guns, in order that his former vessel might undergo a thorough repair. He joined the fleet destined for the Mediterranean, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Little was done in this expedition owing to the lateness of the season when it put to sea; but, upon its return in November, the admiral detached Sir Andrew with two third-rates, a fourth-rate, and other vessels to Lisbon; from whence he was to proceed to Oporto, and take under his convoy such merchant-ships as were bound for England, from both those ports he arrived safe at Plymouth with his charge on the 16th of December. In the following year Sir Andrew, who still continued in the command of the Grafton, sailed under Sir George Rooke for the Straits. During his passage thither, he was accused of disobedience to orders, and was brought to a court-martial, but after his conduct had undergone a serious and solemn investigation, he was honourably acquitted. Still there were not wanting

persons who arraigned his character, and aspersed his honour. In support, however, of the above testimony to his innocence, we may be allowed to cite that character uniformly given him, on all other occasions as a man of the strictest integrity and most approved intrepidity. In the successful attack of Gibraltar, made on the 22d of July following, Sir Andrew's ship, the Grafton, was one of those detached from the main fleet to cannonade the town by sea, and create a diversion in favour of the land-forces; this measure was well devised, and, in fact, proved the sole cause of the sudden conquest of the place. Sir Andrew was one of the commanders who were stationed in the hottest part of the service, and in this situation his expenditure of shot was so great, that, in the battle off Malaga, fought on the 13th of August following, the Grafton was, before the conclusion of the engagement, one of the ships employed in the same service, which was obliged to quit the line, of battle merely for want of the power of annoying the enemy. We now have only to mention the fatal, but glorious catastrophe of this brave man's life. In the engagement of which we have been just speaking, he led the van of the commander in chief, Sir George Rooke's division, and while exerting himself most eminently, he received a mortal wound, of which he died before the conclusion of the action. "In this great battle," says one of his biographers, "that brave and valiant officer, Sir Andrew Leake, was unfortunately slain, receiving a wound in his body, which proved mortal. After the fatal wound had been inflicted, and he was carried down to the surgeon's room to be dressed, when his heroic soul, fired with the love of his country, and burning with an insatiable thirst for glory, would not suffer him to remain inactive; but despising death, though surrounded with all its terrors, he wrapped a table-cloth round his body, and, though possessing only the small remains of life, he placed himself in his elbow-chair, and gave

orders to be carried again upon the quarter-deck, where he bravely sat and partook of the glories of the day till he boldly breathed his last." The Grafton had thirty-one men killed, and sixty-six wounded, a most irrefragable proof of the share which it bore in this memorable engagement. Sir Andrew, from the grace and comeliness of his person, is said to have been called Queen Anne's handsome captain.

THE HON. PHILIP STANHOPE.

Philip Stanhope, was the third son of the honourable Alexander Stanhope, only son to the right honourable Philip, earl of Chesterfield, by his second lady, Anne, daughter of Sir John Pakington, a privy-councillor and favourite of Queen Elizabeth. This family is of very great antiquity and honourable extraction. The learned Camden, in his account of Nottinghamshire, mentions Shelford, the seat of the famous family of Stanhope, knights, whose state and grandeur in those parts is eminent, and their name renowned. In his discourse on surnames, he observes, "them to be denominated from a place of their own name, the town of Stanhope, near a forest so called, in Darlington Wapentake, in the bishopric of Durham, of which they might be owners, for it is certain their residence was in those parts before they came into Nottinghamshire, as is fully attested by Glover, Somerset herald; Vincent, Windsor herald; Dodsworth, and others." Captain Philip Stanhope was promoted to the command of the Hastings frigate, as successor to Captain Charles Parsons, on the 7th of November, 1704. Towards the latter end of the following year he was appointed Captain of the Milford; in which ship we find him, in July 1706, serving, under Sir Stafford Fairborne, at the siege of Ostend; and chosen by

that commander to bear to England the news of its surrender. He was sent, not long after, to the Mediterranean, where, in the month of December, we find him employed under the command of Captain Coney. He continued in the same command during the remainder of his life; which, excessive gallantry, added to a degree of fraternal love almost unequalled, rendered, alas! too short. Frequent mention is made of him both in history and the private journals of officers more particularly connected with him in service and command, as a very active, diligent, and intelligent officer; nevertheless it is needless to descend more into particulars, as these notices, contain nothing more interesting than being generally conducive to the establishment of an highly-to-be-envied character. Being left, in the month of August 1708, at Barcelona, under the command of Captain Hubbard, by Sir John Leake, who had just before sailed for Leghorn, it was determined, at a council of war held on board the Elizabeth, at the request of the king of Spain, that the York and Milford should assist in convoying the transports, which had on board Lieutenant-general Stanhope and a strong body of troops, from Catalonia to Minorca. The reduction of this island was not only become a very favourite object with the king of Spain, but was also considered as likely to be most eminently conducive to the success of the allied cause. General Stanhope, who commanded the land-forces destined for this expedition, was the elder brother of this gentleman; and, as we have already remarked, the ties of consanguinity appeared to increase the thirst of glory, and stimulated the latter to share with the former in the danger, as, though a younger, he appeared a scarcely less ambitious candidate for fame and military glory. Attending the land-forces as a volunteer at the assault of the Spanish lines at Port Mahon, he there fell, in the hour of victory, on the 17th of September, N. S. 1708.

SIR THOMAS DILKES.

Sir Thomas Dilkes was appointed second lieutenant of the Hampshire on the 29th of April, 1687; and, on the 3d of September, 1688, of the Henrietta. On the 8th of April, 1689, he was promoted to the command of the Charles fire-ship; in 1692 he was captain of the Adventure, a fifth rate, on the Irish station. In the month of October, being in company with the Rupert, commanded by Captain Beaumont, they captured two large French privateers. The enemy made a resolute defence. The largest of them resolutely boarded the Adventure; but the superior discipline and conduct of Captain Dilkes's people soon prevailed over the rash valour of the assailants. In December following he had the good fortune to fall in with a very large privateer mounting thirty-two guns and six patereroes, commissioned by the late King James. A desperate action ensued, and continued six hours, when the enemy surrendered, having had their captain and twelve men killed, and twenty wounded. In the year 1694 he was removed into the Dunkirk; and, in the month of June, being in company with the Weymouth, had the good fortune to meet with, and capture off Cape Clear, a large ship of war, belonging to St. Maloe's, mounting forty-six guns; the particulars of which action are given in the life of Captain, afterwards, Sir William Jumper.

Captain Dilkes continued, during the remainder of the year, on the Irish station; and, by his diligence and attention, rendered complete protection to commerce, so far as the narrow limits of his command could possibly enable him. In 1695 he was Captain of the Rupert, and in the following year, of the Dreadnought seventy guns. On the 11th of March, 1698, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the

white. In July, having hoisted his flag on board the Kent, he was sent with a small squadron to destroy a fleet of merchant ships, and their convoy, which were at that time lying in Concalle Bay. He sailed from Spithead on the 22d, and on the 24th ordered the Nonsuch, a-head of the squadron, to procure some intelligence of the enemy from Alderney. On the 26th of July, at day-break, the enemy was discovered at anchor about a league to the westward of Granville. They immediately slipped on the approach of the English squadron, and ran in for the shore. The rear-admiral pursued them as far as the pilot thought it in any degree warrantable to venture. The enemy's fleet was found to consist of forty-five merchant ships under the convoy of three corvettes or small frigates. The rear-admiral sent in his boats manned and armed, as did all the other ships of the squadron. The enemy was attacked with so much spirit and vigour, that by noon fifteen sail were taken and brought off, six were burnt, and three sunk; the remainder got away so far up a bay between Avranche and Mount St. Michael, that the pilots were of opinion the ships could not stand in near enough to afford any protection or assistance to the boats. A council was, however, called on the morning of the 27th, in which it was resolved, that a detachment should be formed of the smaller ships, to support the boats of the squadron, and that the attempt should be made the next morning. This was accordingly carried into execution between ten and eleven o'clock, the admiral and the captains of the squadron going in, to encourage the men. The three corvettes were first attacked: the largest, mounting eighteen guns, was burnt by the enemy to prevent her falling into the hands of the English: the second, was set on fire by Mr. Paul, first-lieutenant of the Kent, who was shot through the lower jaw while effecting it: the third, was brought off. Of the merchant ships, seventeen were burnt or

otherwise completely destroyed, so that of the whole fleet, only four escaped, by getting under the guns of Granville Fort, where it was impossible for boats to attack them. This service was thought so highly of by the queen, that she ordered gold medals to be struck in order to perpetuate this event, and distributed them to the admiral and the principal officers.

On the 9th of March 1704, Sir George Rooke sailed from Lisbon, on a cruise, with such ships as were in a condition for immediate service. Having received an account, from a Dutch privateer, that he had the night before seen three Spanish ships of war, and a dogger, which he at that time judged to bear south from the fleet, and distant not more than ten leagues; Sir George, immediately on receiving this information, made sail; and the Rear-admiral Dilkes was ordered to continue the chace to the south-west, with the Kent and Bedford of seventy guns each, and the Antelope of fifty. During the next day and the following night it blew so hard that Mr. Dilkes was unable to make sail; but the weather becoming more moderate on the 12th, he got sight of the enemy's ships, all which he took after some resistance. They proved to be the Porta Cœli, and the Santa Theresa, of sixty guns each; and the St. Nicholas, a merchant frigate of twenty-four. These were bound from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz: their cargoes were not only valuable in themselves, but the loss of them was particularly distressing to the enemy, as they consisted entirely of cannon, bombs, and military stores. Contrary winds prevented the return of Rear-admiral Dilkes to Lisbon till the 25th of March: and in going into the river one of his prizes, the Santa Theresa, was unfortunately lost. At the battle off Malaga, which took place soon afterwards, Mr. Dilkes behaved with the utmost gallantry. Several of the ships belonging to his squadron had been engaged in the attack on Gibraltar, where their expenditure of

ammunition causing a great want of it in the action alluded to, they were obliged, to quit the line. The gallant behaviour of the rear-admiral in this action, rendered more perilous by the circumstance just mentioned, procured him the honour of knighthood, on the 22d of October, soon after his return to England. On the 18th of January 1704-5, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the red, and appointed to command the convoy sent with a fleet of merchant-ships to Lisbon. Having hoisted his flag on board the Revenge, he sailed from Spithead on the 1st of February, but was compelled, by a contrary wind, to put back to St. Helen's. He sailed again on the 15th, but did not succeed in getting to sea till the 18th; and, after a successful passage, arrived in the Tagus on the last day of February, where he put himself under the orders of Sir John Leake. The whole fleet sailed on the 6th of March, and on the 10th, he had a conspicuous share in capturing and destroying the squadron that was employed, under the Baron De Pointis, in blocking up Gibraltar by sea. Of the death of this brave man we have already had an account: he was interred with much solemnity, on the 14th of the same month, in the burial-ground of the British, without the city, all the ships of the squadron firing minute-guns during the ceremony.

SIR STAFFORD FAIRBORNE

Was the nephew of Sir Palmes Fairborne, sometime governor of Tangiers, who, in consequence of his bravery against the Moors, had arms, with the following crest, granted him:—a dexter armed hand with a gauntlet proper, holding a sword erect, argent, pomel and hilt, Or, on the point thereof a Turk's head coupée. He was afterwards mortally wounded

in October 1680, by the Moors, who were at that time besieging Tangiers. We meet with nothing relative to Sir Stafford till we find him lieutenant of the Bonadventure, in June 1685. The Captain (Priestman) was, at that time, ill at Tangiers, and the command of the ship of course devolved upon Mr. Fairborne, who, in company with the Captains Leighton and Macdonald, projected, and successfully executed, an attack on some Salletine ships of war, which were lying in the harbour of Marmora. On the 30th of August 1688, he was appointed commander of the Richmond; from which he was removed into the Fairfax. Soon after the Revolution he was promoted to the Warspight, a third rate of seventy guns. He commanded this ship at the battle off Beachy Head. In this he was so near his antagonist that the musket shot lodged in the hammocks with which his nettings were stuffed. In the month of September 1690, being present at the siege of Cork, he was one of those gallant naval commanders who quitted their own service, in which, at that time, there appeared little opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and went as volunteers under Brigadier Churchill, and Lord Colchester, who were ordered to assault the breach. For two or three years after this time nothing memorable occurs. In the year 1693 he commanded the Monk of fifty-two guns, one of the squadron under Sir George Rooke, sent to convoy the unfortunate Smyrna fleet. During the pursuit of this fleet, by the enemy, the Monk separated from the other ships of war; but, repairing to the Madeira's, the appointed rendezvous in case of accident, was quickly joined by Sir George, and the ships which had happily escaped the misfortune. When the remains, thus collected, returned to Ireland, Sir George joined the main fleet, with the six ships that were in the best condition for service, and left Captain Fairborne to command the rest, which were to return into port when refitted. In the month of July 1696,

we find him captain of the Albemarle of ninety-guns, and stationed in the line as second to the commander-in chief; soon afterwards he was made commander of the Victory. The peace of Ryswick took place in the following year, and in 1700, he was appointed commodore of the small squadron, which is usually sent, even to the present time, to Newfoundland, for the protection of the fishery. On his return he was appointed to the Tilbury, and sent into the Mediterranean, where he continued but a short time. Hostilities were thought to be on the eve of commencing with France at the time of his arrival in England. This probably accelerated his promotion to be rear-admiral of the blue on the 30th of June 1701: but the rupture, which had been long expected, did not break out till after the accession of Queen Anne. In the month of April, 1702, Rear-admiral Fairborne was dispatched, with a small detachment of the fleet, to Ireland, for the purpose of bringing over some troops, destined to form part of the land-forces about to be sent, under the duke of Ormond, on the expedition against Cadiz. He was, during his absence, advanced on the 8th of May, 1702, to be rear-admiral of the white. He served in this station during the ensuing expedition; and, on the 22d of June, having hoisted his flag on board the St. George, of ninety-six guns, was detached before the main body of the fleet under Sir George Rooke.

The ill success of this part of the expedition is too well known; but where the commander-in-chief is exempt from all blame relative to the failure, it becomes impossible for the most inveterate calumny to affix a stigma on those, who, acting on every occasion in conformity to his orders, could, at most, only be censured in a secondary light. The fleet, on its return home, acquired some satisfaction for the former disappointment. The capture of Vigo, in a pecuniary sense, rewarded the gallantry of the assailants more substantially than that of Cadiz would

have done. Sir S. Fairborne removed his flag from the St. George into the Essex; but was not personally concerned in the attack. When Sir George Rooke returned to England he was left with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to bring home the prizes; a service, in which they encountered much difficulty, from the severity of the season, and contrary winds. After being separated from Sir Cloudesley, in a violent gale on the 6th of November, that part of the fleet which kept company with Sir Stafford, arrived safe at Spithead with him on the 17th of the same month. On the 6th of May, in the following year, Sir Stafford was promoted to be vice-admiral of the red; and, as it is said, was offered the chief command in the West Indies, which he thinking proper to decline, it was conferred on Vice-admiral Graydon. He was afterwards sent on the Mediterranean service, as second in command of the fleet under the orders of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Having hoisted his flag on board the Association, they sailed from St. Helen's on the first of July. On the 24th the fleet arrived off Cascais, and Sir Stafford Fairborne was immediately dispatched to Lisbon to inform the king of Portugal, who had joined the grand alliance, of the arrival of the combined fleet. He was received with every possible mark of attention by the king; and returned to the fleet satisfied with these convincing proofs of royal attention to the dignity of his character. The fleet returned to England in November, and on the 26th that most furious tempest arose, which has ever since been distinguished by the name of the great storm. At this time Sir Stafford was lying in the Downs, having his flag on board the Association. This ship was blown from her anchors; and, after having, almost miraculously, escaped a myriad of perils, was obliged to put into Gottenburgh. Soon after his return, he shifted his flag into the Shrewsbury, and was appointed second in command of the squadron, sent out in the month of May, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The object of this equipment was, to attack, or

to confine in port, a French armament, fitting for sea at Brest, under the Count De Thoulouse. Information was received by the admiral that the French had quitted Brest some days before he himself left Portsmouth; so that after an ineffectual cruise, it was determined, by a council of war, that the admiral himself should proceed for Lisbon to join Sir George Rooke, according to his instructions, with two-and-twenty ships of the squadron; and that Sir Stafford, with the major part of the remainder, should return to England. In the month of April, 1706, Sir Stafford, who still continued vice-admiral of the red, was appointed commander of a small squadron which rendezvoused at Spithead. His instructions were, to proceed, with all secrecy, off the river Charente, where he was to use his utmost endeavours to take or destroy such ships as the enemy might be fitting out from Rochfort, which usually lay at the mouth of that river to take in their guns, stores, and provisions. Contrary winds for a considerable time impeded his progress; and when he reached the place of his destined attack, the time limited for his absence was so nearly expired, that he was obliged to return without having been able to effect any other service than the destruction of about half a score trading vessels, and the capture of a few prizes which he surprised between the islands of Rhe and Oleron. The squadron returned to Plymouth on the 17th of May, and Sir Stafford received orders to repair to the Downs with seven ships of the line, four frigates, a fire-ship, two bomb-ketches, and four small vessels. On the 30th he received farther orders to repair to Ostend, with the force under his command, in order to co-operate with the land-force under Monsieur Auverquerque, who was detached, by the duke of Marlborough, to besiege that town. Sir Stafford sailed on this service, and anchored as near Ostend as a proper attention to the safety of his ships warranted. It was proposed that Nieuport

should be first attacked; to promote which, he detached three of his small frigates to block up that place, and prevent the introduction of provisions or reinforcements by sea. The intended plan of operations being afterwards changed, and Ostend invested by land, Sir Stafford proceeded to reconnoitre the place, in order to discover whether it were possible to render any service by an attack from the sea; of this there appeared, indeed, but little hopes, inasmuch as the ships lay at the back of the town; and the entrance into the harbour was not only long, narrow, and crooked, but well defended by several formidable batteries, so that the attempt was given up. But the general (Auverquerque) being of opinion that two or three frigates, stationed near the shore, might render some service at Furnes, in preventing the passage of troops over the gut at Nieuport, they were accordingly detached, though it was feared the sands would prevent their approaching near enough the shore to do any material execution. The trenches were opened on the 17th, and on the 19th, three small vessels got into the harbour, notwithstanding the vigilance of the frigates and guard-boats. On the 20th, the batteries of the besiegers were ready to open, and on the 22d Sir Stafford went on shore, to concert with the general, Monsieur Auverquerque, the plan of a general attack. This being agreed on, the bomb-ketches began, at break of day on the 23d to throw shells, while at the same instant the land-batteries opened on the fortifications. The consequence of this combined attack was, that in a quarter of an hour, the town was observed to be on fire in several parts, and by eight o'clock the conflagration had rapidly increased. The assault was continued with so much spirit and fury, both by sea and land, that before night most of the cannon belonging to the besieged were dismounted, and the place nearly reduced to a heap of ruins. On the morning of the 25th, the town being no longer

tenable against so formidable an enemy, the besieged beat a parley, and the same day the capitulation was actually concluded. Thus, by a happy conjunction of spirit, prudence, and ability, was a conquest effected after only three days open trenches, which had cost the Spaniards, about an hundred years before, a siege of upwards of three years, and the lives of near fourscore thousand persons. With this success Sir Stafford appears to have closed his naval life, and not again to have hazarded the loss of that reputation he had so justly acquired. On the 28th of June, 1707, he was, with Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Mr. R. Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford, added to the list of Prince George's council, in his quality of lord high-admiral; an office he, however, scarcely held twelve months. From this time he lived a retired life till November 1742, when he died.

SIR JOHN LEAKE.

Sir John Leake was the second son of Captain Richard Leake, master gunner of England, an appointment of considerable note, which he obtained by dint of personal merit. Sir John was born at Rotherhithe in the year 1656; and, following the steps of his father, entered early into the navy. He served as a midshipman on board the Royal Prince in the memorable sea-fight between the English and Dutch, on the 10th of August, 1673, being then only seventeen years old. At the conclusion of the war, Mr. Leake finding his hopes of preferment in the royal navy at least postponed, engaged, for a short time, in the merchants' service. He quitted it on being appointed to succeed his father as gunner of the Neptune. He was, on the 24th of September, 1688, appointed commander of the Fire-Drake fire-ship. In this he was present at the battle of Bantry Bay, where

he found an opportunity of performing a signal service by firing one of the French line-of-battle ships, commanded by the Chevalier Coetlogon. This he did by an invention of his father's, called a cushee piece, a species of cannon, throwing a small shell, or carcass, instead of shot. Admiral Herbert, who commanded in-chief, did justice to his merit, by appointing him, two days after the battle, to command the Dartmouth frigate of forty guns. On the 28th of July following, he relieved the city of Londonderry, at that time hard pressed by King James's army, consisting of 30,000 men. He effected this in spite of every impediment which a very powerful and active enemy could contrive. The Dartmouth being paid off at the close of the year, Mr. Leake was appointed captain of the Oxford, of fifty-four guns; and, in May following, was promoted to the command of the Eagle, a third rate of seventy guns. He was one of the members of the court-martial appointed for the trial of the gallant but unfortunate earl of Torrington, and proved himself to be one of those truly valuable persons, who, ever bent on the strict performance of their duty, ever zealous in the pursuit of true honour, are neither to be intimidated by the clamours of disappointed faction, or allured by the pleasing prospect of courtly favour. At the battle off La Hogue, being still commander of the Eagle, he continued to preserve that character for gallantry which he had before so industriously laboured to acquire. The recital of his loss is a sufficient proof of the share he bore in the action; seventeen of the Eagle's guns being dismounted, seventy of her men killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. On the Monday following, four days after the action, Sir George Rooke shifted his flag into the Eagle, disabled as she was, for the purpose of destroying thirteen of the enemy's ships under Cape La Hogue: which service being performed, the fleet returned home; and the Eagle being put out of com-

mission, Mr. Leake was appointed to the command of the Plymouth, a third rate; from which he was soon removed into the Ossory, a second rate, of ninety guns. This ship proving leaky, was ordered round to Chatham for repair. Early in the ensuing spring, Captain Leake, still continuing in the Ossory, joined the fleet destined for the Mediterranean service, under the command of Admiral Russel. But the French, smarting under their defeat at La Hogue, suffered themselves to be pent up quietly in Toulon. The peace of Ryswick taking place soon after (September 20, 1697) the Ossory was, on the 5th of December, put out of commission, when Captain Leake was out of employ, though for the first time since he had become a naval commander, in the year of the Revolution. In the beginning of the year 1701, on the prospect of a fresh war with France, he was appointed to the Berwick of seventy guns; and, after a second twelve-month of inactive service, was again put out of commission in January 1701-2. On the preparation for war, just before the death of King William, he was recommended, by his old and steady friend, Admiral Churchill, as the fittest man in the service to be captain to the earl of Pembroke, at that time appointed lord high-admiral; and who never having been bred to the sea, consequently required the assistance of the greatest professional abilities he could procure, in aid of his own natural gallantry and spirit. The death of King William, which happened almost immediately afterwards, prevented his going to sea in that station; and caused not only his removal, but that of the earl of Pembroke also, to make room for the appointment of George, prince of Denmark, for whom, it is said, that office had been long designed. Captain Leake was, however, appointed to the command of the Association, a second rate, the very day he was removed from his former station, and, in three weeks afterwards, commodore of a squadron destined for Newfoundland. He now

removed from the Association to the Exeter, a fourth rate, of sixty guns; the former ship being too large for the service he was going upon. He performed every thing that the most sanguine expectation could have formed, having, in the course of his summer's cruise, taken or destroyed upwards of fifty of the enemy's ships and vessels, as well as completely routed them from all their considerable settlements on the shore. On the 9th of December he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue; and, in the next month, commander-in-chief at Spithead. Still continuing in the same current of promotion, he was, in March, advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue. Early in the month of February he received the honour of knighthood, and on the 19th of the same month, took the command of the squadron destined to convoy the troops to Lisbon; where, having arrived with his charge in perfect safety on the 2d of March, he put himself under the command of Sir George Rooke, who had sailed thither some time before. In August Sir John Leake commanded the van division of the combined fleet at the battle of Malaga, his ship, the Prince George, being the fourth in the line. After an action of four hours, he compelled Monsieur D'Infreville, vice-admiral of the white and blue, to bear away. He was soon after followed by the rest of the white and blue or van squadron of the French. On the return of the fleet to Gibraltar, Sir John Leake was appointed, by Sir George Rooke, to take the command of the squadron left for the protection of that place. On this occasion he shifted his flag from the Prince George to the Nottingham, a fourth rate, the former ship being sent to England to be repaired. Having received advice that Gibraltar was attacked by the French, he used the utmost dispatch in getting ready for sea: and, being joined by a reinforcement, he sailed on the 25th of October upon that service. Having made his passage in four days, he had the good fortune to surprise, in Gibraltar Bay, the ene-

my's light squadron, so that the French lost, on this occasion, two frigates of thirty-six guns, one of sixteen, a fire-ship, and several smaller vessels, which run on shore, and were burnt to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. Sir John arrived at Lisbon in January following, and used the utmost diligence in refitting. Having been reinforced by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five men of war, he hoisted his flag, as vice-admiral of the white, on board the Hampton-Court, of seventy-guns; and, on the 6th of March, sailed with the fleet, consisting of thirty-five sail of the line, twenty-three of which were English, the rest Dutch and Portuguese. On entering Gibraltar Bay, he found the French admiral, Pointis, endeavouring to escape with his squadron; but giving chace to them, the whole were taken or destroyed. In consequence of this victory, the siege was raised; and the prince of Hesse, as a mark of the high sense he entertained of the service rendered him by the fleet under Sir John's command, presented him with a gold cup. Having performed this eminent service, Sir John Leake returned to Lisbon, where he was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the armament from England, in the month of June. On the 22d, they sailed for the Mediterranean, to assist King Charles in the farther reduction of Spain. The grand object of attack was Barcelona, which having surrendered, Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned, with the main body of the fleet, to England, leaving Sir John Leake again commander in chief in the Mediterranean. After having encountered the greatest difficulties and hardships from the misfortunes of short allowance, contrary winds, and sickness, he arrived on the 16th of January at Lisbon. The usual business of refitting being entered upon with the utmost despatch, on the 25th of February he sailed on an expedition against the Spanish flota at Cadiz; but, owing to the Portuguese, who had laid an embargo on all ships, and which he was unwilling to break through, he did not

pass the bar till the 27th. On his arrival off Cadiz, he found the flota had, through the treachery of the Portuguese, been apprized of his intended visit, and left that place the day before, with so favourable a wind as rendered it impossible for him to overtake them. On the 29th of March he arrived in Gibraltar Bay, where he received a letter from King Charles, informing him of his extreme distress, being closely besieged in Barcelona, and pressing him to come, with the utmost expedition, to his relief. He arrived off Barcelona on the 26th of April. The French squadron under the Count De Thoulouse, having been informed of Sir John's approach the night before, retired with the utmost precipitation. Five days afterwards, the duke of Anjou raised the siege, abandoning to his rival all his cannon, camp-equipage, and military stores. This act, as well the most glorious as the most fortunate, being achieved, Sir John sailed for Valencia, from whence he proceeded to Carthagena, which important place he immediately reduced and took possession of. From thence he proceeded to Alicant, which was stormed by the boats of the fleet on the 28th of July; but the castle continued to hold out till the 24th of August. After the reduction of the castle of Alicant, Sir John Leake sailed for Yvica and Majorca; both which having surrendered to him, he prepared to return to England, and arrived in perfect safety, after encountering a dreadful storm in the Bay of Biscay. He was received with acclamations by the populace, and with marks of the highest favour by his sovereign. Prince George of Denmark, then lord admiral, presented him, as a token of his esteem, with a very valuable diamond ring and a gold hilted sword. The queen gave him a still more substantial mark of her esteem, by ordering him a thousand pounds. The following year Sir John Leake commanded in the Channel, and in the year after, having been appointed admiral of the white, and commander in chief of the

fleet, he was again sent to the Mediterranean; and in his passage to Barcelona, having fallen in with a fleet of victuallers belonging to the enemy, and taken seventy-five of them, he was enabled, a second time, to rescue King Charles and Barcelona from destruction; and as he had in the former instance delivered them from the swords of their antagonists, so on the present occasion did he save them from the no less certain and horrid enemy, famine, brought on them in consequence of the duke of Anjou's success at Almanza. His next enterprise was, the reduction of the island of Sardinia, which was quickly followed by an equal success in an expedition to Minorca. These services being performed, and the season far advanced, he prepared to return again to England, where he arrived the latter end of October. During his absence he had been appointed one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, in his capacity of lord high-admiral: but he hardly arrived time enough to take possession of his office, his highness dying in six days after Sir John's return to Portsmouth. In the ensuing campaign he was again appointed admiral of the fleet by the earl of Pembroke, successor to Prince George; and, on the 24th of May following, was constituted, by patent, rear-admiral of Great Britain.

The preliminaries of peace being settled in July 1712, Sir John was sent, with General Hill, to take possession of Dunkirk according to the treaty. Having executed his part of the commission, Sir John, at the end of the month, struck his flag, and returned once more to a private station. He was again appointed admiral of the fleet the ensuing year, but there is no account of his ever having even hoisted his flag. On the death of the queen, and the consequent accession of George I. Sir John was not only dismissed from the Admiralty-board, but deprived of his other appointments. To crown at once the ill usage he met with from those persons who, at that day, called themselves friends to their country, this man, who had spent the whole of his life honestly,

and with unblemished reputation in its service, who had procured it as solid advantages as any either of his contemporaries or predecessors had done, was obliged to retire on a pension of 600*l.* a year, a sum barely equivalent to his half-pay; yet this he accepted without a murmur, and without the smallest attempt, by painting the hardships of his case, to render odious the government of that country to which he had ever proved himself a steady friend, a zealous defender, and an able minister. Retiring to a country villa near Greenwich, he continued ever afterwards to live a private life; and died on the 21st of August 1720, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER.

This celebrated voyager was born at East-Coker, near Yeovil, in Somersetshire, in the year 1652. He had from his childhood a strong propensity to the sea-service; yet he was not intended by his parents for such a way of life. But his father and mother dying whilst he was at the grammar-school, his guardians took him from thence, and sent him to another place of education, with a view of gratifying his prevailing disposition, and earnest desire of visiting foreign countries. Accordingly they soon after put him under the care of a master of a ship at Weymouth, with whom he made a voyage to Newfoundland; being then about eighteen years of age. But the rigour of that climate was too severe for his constitution; and therefore, upon his return to England, he determined not to revisit that country. So he retired to his friends in Somersetshire, where he continued for some time. After sufficient repose in this obscure situation, Mr. Dampier went to London; and there readily accepted the offer of a warm voyage and a long one, which was what he had always de-

sired. He entered on board a ship bound to the East Indies, and was employed before the mast. In the course of this voyage, which took up little more than a year, he acquired much knowledge and experience; and he returned greatly improved in the art of navigation.

The war with the Dutch being just begun about the time of his return, he declined going to sea that summer, and retired again into the country. But growing weary of his situation on shore, he entered on board the Royal Prince, and served under Sir Edward Spragge, in the year 1673, being the last year of the Dutch war. This gallant admiral had three engagements with the enemy that summer, in two of which Mr. Dampier was present; but happening to fall sick, he was put on board an hospital-ship a day or two before the third, in which Sir Edward Spragge was lost. Soon after this, he was sent to Harwich, with the rest of the sick, and wounded, where he languished for a considerable time, and at length returned to his native place, for the recovery of his health. As his strength returned, his inclination to the sea returned with it; and the war being now at an end, he accepted the offer of a neighbouring gentleman, who had desired him to go to Jamaica, and to take upon him, under one Mr. Whalley, the management of a plantation, which he possessed in that island. In pursuance of this engagement, he left England in a merchant vessel, in the beginning of the year 1674, and arriving safely at Jamaica, entered upon his employment. He continued with Mr. Whalley about six months, and then entered into the service of another gentleman, who had a plantation on the north side of the island. But disliking this situation, he embraced the first opportunity of disengaging himself from it, and took his passage on board a sloop to Port-Royal. From hence he sailed with the master of a trading vessel, which went commonly to the north side of the island,

and sometimes round it; and by these coasting voyages he became acquainted with all the ports and bays about Jamaica, and with all their manufactures; and, at the same time, acquired a thorough knowledge of the nature and advantages of the land and seawinds. Having spent six or seven months in this way, our adventurer entered on board a ship bound from Port-Royal to the Bay of Campeachy, for logwood. Upon his arrival at that place, he was so pleased with the prospect of enriching himself by the employment of cutting logwood, that he resolved to make a second voyage thither. The various difficulties and dangers, through which he passed in his return to Jamaica, did not deter him from this resolution; but he took the first opportunity of going as a passenger, well furnished with all necessary accommodations for the logwood trade. Arriving at the principal island in the bay, to which the traders resort, he settled himself with some old logwood-cutters, to follow the employment with them; hiring himself first as a servant, and being afterwards admitted into partnership. Here he endured a variety of hardships, and escaped from many dangers; and being apprehensive of more, he determined to quit the island; although (says he) it was a place where a man might have gotten an estate. Accordingly he left the employment, and returned to Jamaica. He had spent almost a year at the logwood trade, and was grown pretty well acquainted with the nature of it; and he designed to return to the same employment, after he had visited his native country. From Jamaica he sailed for England; and, after a short stay, set off again for Jamaica, in order to proceed to Campeachy, but this expedition ended in a voyage round the world. He sailed from England, in 1679, a passenger on board a merchant-ship, but when he arrived at Jamaica, he altered his design of going to Campeachy, and waited for the opportunity of some other employment. Accordingly, in a short

time, he set out, with other adventurers, on a privateering expedition to Porto Bello; and having accomplished their scheme, they determined to march by land over the Isthmus of Darien, and to try their fortune in the South Seas. In pursuance of this resolution, they went ashore on the Isthmus, in number about three or four hundred men, carrying with them such provisions as were necessary, and toys proper to sooth the Indians, through whose country they were to pass. They landed, on the 5th of April, 1680; and in about nine days arrived at Santa Maria, which they took: there they remained a few days, and then set forward on their march to the South Sea coast; from whence they embarked on board such canoes, and other vessels, as they could procure from their Indian friends. On the 23d of the same month they came in sight of Panama; and continuing their course to the Keys, or Isles of Quicaro, they advanced against the town of Pueblo Nuevo; but were repulsed, with the loss of their leader, and several others. Hereupon they resolved to change their course, and stand away to the south-ward for the coast of Peru. Accordingly they left the Keys of Quicaro, on the 6th of June, and spent the remainder of the year in that southern course. In the month of October they came to Ylo, a small town on the coast of Peru, and took it; from whence they went, in November, to Coquimbo, on the same coast; and in the latter end of December they were got as far as the Isle of Juan Fernandez, which was the utmost of their course to the southward. They did not remain long at this place, but went back again to the northward; having a design upon Arica, a strong town, advantageously situated on the Peruvian coast: but being repulsed from thence with great loss, they continued their course northward, till, by the middle of April, they were come in sight of the Isle of Plata, a little to the southward of the equinoctial line. After their defeat before Pueblo Nuevo, they had cho-

sen another leader in the room of him who fell there. But while they lay at the Isle of Juan Fernandez, this new captain was degraded by general consent; the company being not satisfied either with his courage or his conduct. The leader whom they chose in his stead was killed shortly after, before Arica; so that they were without a commander, during their return from that place, to the Isle of Plata. Here then a new election became necessary; but not agreeing in their choice, they were divided into two parties; and the difference ran so high between them, that they determined to put it to the vote, and to separate companies; having first concluded, that the majority should keep the ship, and the other party content themselves with the lanch or long-boat, and canoes; and return over the Isthmus, or try their fortune elsewhere, as they pleased. After the decision by vote, Mr. Dampier, who had hitherto concealed his sentiments, declared himself on the side of the minority, which consisted of the ablest and most experienced men; who being now at liberty to pursue their own schemes, resolved to cross the Isthmus, and immediately prepared for their departure. On the 17th of April, 1681, they left their former companions, and embarked in their long-boat and canoes, designing for the river Santa Maria, in the Gulph of St. Michael; which is about two hundred leagues from the Isle of Plata. They were in number forty-four white men, who bore arms; a Spanish Indian, and two Moskito Indians, who also bore arms; and five slaves taken in the South Seas. Their provision consisted of as much flour as they could conveniently take with them, and about twenty or thirty pounds of chocolate, rubbed up with sugar. They had also a kettle, which, with their provision, was carried by the slaves, after their landing on the Isthmus. As there were some in their company not very well able to march, they gave out, before they sailed, that if any man faltered in the journey over land, he must expect to be shot to

death; for they knew that the Spaniards would soon be after them, and one man falling into their hands, might be the ruin of them all, by giving an account of their strength and condition: yet this did not deter any one from the expedition. In their passage they took a small bark; which was a very useful acquisition, as their own boats were too small to transport them. Soon after this, they lost one of their canoes in a storm; for they took their boat and canoes with them, for the better passage up the river Santa Maria; their bark being not so convenient for that purpose. After various, perils, and narrow escapes from some Spanish vessels, which were looking out for them, they arrived on the 30th of April, in the Gulph of St. Michael; through which they first came into the South Seas, and by which they designed to return. The river Santa Maria communicates with this gulph; and by that river they intended to pass into the country: but discovering a large Spanish ship at the mouth of the river, their scheme was frustrated. Hereupon they immediately got under sail; and using the utmost care and caution to avoid the enemy, determined to land somewhere else that night, or the next morning early. They rowed and towed against the wind all night; and, in the morning, they sailed about four miles to the westward, and running into a small creek, rowed up to the head of it; and landed in safety. Having got out all their provision and clothes, they sunk their ship, and prepared to march. Had they been able to land where they first proposed, their journey across the Isthmus would have been much shorter and less inconvenient; but now it was attended with almost insuperable difficulties: their bold and enterprising genius, however, rose superior to all dangers and fatigues; and, with the help of their pocket compasses and Indian guides, they accomplished their journey in twenty-three days, with the loss of only one man, who was drowned. They travelled, according to Mr.

Dampier's computation, about one hundred and ten miles, crossing some very high mountains; though their common march was in the valleys, through wild and pathless woods, and among deep and dangerous rivers: and, to complete their sufferings, they had excessive rains the greater part of the way. How extremely disadvantageous the place of their landing was, we may see from the time spent in their journey; for, by going up Santa Maria river, a man may pass from sea to sea, in three days time, with ease: the Indians can do it in a day and half. They had left some tired men on the road, together with their surgeon, who, by an unfortunate accident, was rendered incapable of marching. All these joined them afterwards; having been hospitably treated by the natives, whose kindness their companions had secured by proper presents. Having got some canoes to carry them down the river Conception, to the sea-side, our band of adventurers departed; and meeting with a French privateer, they all went on board; and soon after joined a fleet of eight sail of privateers, French and English, which were ready for a cruise. They had not proceeded far, before the fleet was dispersed by a storm, without any hopes of being collected again. The captain of the ship, with whom Mr. Dampier was, being thus left to himself cruised for some time amongst the West India islands, with various success; till at length Mr. Dampier, with about twenty more, fitted up one of their prize vessels, and, with their share of the plunder sailed directly for Virginia; where he arrived in July, 1682. In August 1683, Mr. Dampier sailed from Achamack, in Virginia, on board a privateer of eighteen guns, under the command of Captain Cook, bound for the South Seas; from whence he went to the East Indies, and so returned to England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. In this voyage, they proceeded first to the Cape de Verd Islands, where they made a short stay, and from thence stood away to the southward; in-

tending to touch no where till they came to the Straits of Magellan: but meeting with contrary winds, they altered their resolution, and steered for the coast of Guinea, and came to an anchor in Sherborough river. Here they went on shore, and refreshed themselves for three or four days; and then taking in water and rice, they proceeded on their intended course to the Straits of Magellan. Mr. Dampier endeavoured to dissuade Captain Cook from passing through the Straits, knowing the danger of that passage in their circumstances: they did, however, attempt to pass, but were prevented by contrary winds; whereupon they doubled Cape Horn; and soon after their entrance into the South Seas, meeting with an English vessel which had passed the Straits, and being both bound for the Island of Juan Fernandez, they sailed in company. Immediately on their arrival at the south end of the island, they went ashore in search of a Mosquito Indian, whom they had left behind in the year 1681, when they were chased from thence by three Spanish ships: he was in the woods hunting for goats when the Captain drew off his men; and the ship was under sail before he came back to the shore. The Indian lived here alone for more than three years. The Spaniards, who knew that he was left upon the island, searched for him several times, but could never find him. He had seen Captain Cook's ship the day before they came to an anchor, and believing it to be an English vessel, had killed three goats in the morning, and dressed them for their entertainment: he then came down to the sea-side, to congratulate them on their safe arrival. As soon as they reached land, a Mosquito Indian, named Robin, leapt a-shore, and running to his countryman, threw himself flat on his face at his feet; who helping him up, and embracing him, prostrated himself in like manner at Robin's feet; and was by him raised up and cordially em-

braced. We stood with pleasure," says Mr. Dampier, "to behold the surprise, and tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides; and when their ceremonies of civility were over, we also that stood gazing at them drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends come hither, as he thought, purposely to fetch him. He was named Will, as the other was Robin. These were names given them by the English, for they have no names among themselves; and they take it as a great favour to be named by any of us; and will complain for want of it, if we do not appoint them some name when they are with us; saying of themselves they are poor men, and have no name." When this Indian was left on shore, he had with him his gun and a knife, with a small horn of powder, and a few shot; which being spent, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, with which he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces first in the fire, which he struck with his gun-flint, and a piece of the barrel of his gun which he had hardened; having learnt that art among the English. The hot pieces of iron he would hammer out and bend, as he pleased, with stones, and saw them with his jagged knife, or grind them to an edge by long labour, and hardened them to a good temper, as there was occasion. With instruments made in this manner, he got such provision as the island afforded; either goats or fish. At first, before he had make hooks, he was forced to eat seal, which is very indifferent food; but afterwards he never killed any seals, but to make lines, by cutting their skins into thongs. He had a little house, or hut, half a mile from the sea, which was lined with goats skin; his couch, or barbecu of sticks, lying along about two feet from the ground, was spread with the same, and was all his bedding. He

was covered with a skin about his waist, having no clothes left.

Captain Cooke and his companions stayed at Juan Fernandez about sixteen days, for the recovery of their sick, who were much afflicted with the scurvy; but were soon restored by the pure waters and wholesome vegetables which this island afforded in great abundance. On the 8th of April, 1684, the two ships left this place, and sailed in company, coasting South America. The main land both of Chili and Peru is exceedingly high, and therefore they kept twelve or fourteen leagues off from shore, being unwilling to be seen by the Spaniards. They pursued this course, without any adventure, till the 3d of May, when they discovered a sail to the northward, which they chaced and took. Their prize was a vessel which came from Guiaquil, laden with timber, and was bound to Lima. From her they learned, that the Spaniards had heard of their being in these seas, and that the vice-roy of Lima had sent expresses to all the sea-ports, to put them on their guard. Our adventurers, judging from this intelligence that the Spaniards would send no riches by sea, whilst they were hovering about, determined to attack some town on the coast, and immediately prepared for the expedition; but falling in with three more vessels laden with flour, bound for Panama, they took them all; and from the accounts of their prisoners, corroborated by letters found on board, they now concluded that their scheme would be impracticable, and therefore they steered without delay, with their prizes, for the Gallipago Islands, which are many in number, large, and uninhabited, lying some under the equator, and others on each side of it. Here they remained twelve days, and then departed for the coast of Mexico, with intent to attack a town of whose strength and riches they had been well informed. In their passage they lost their captain, who died of a disorder which he had contracted at

Juan Fernandez; and the quarter-master of their company succeeded him. The Spaniards being alarmed, and on their guard, they could not attempt the town; whereupon they steered for the Gulph of Amapalla, intending there to careen. Here the ship, which had accompanied them from their first entrance into the South Seas, left them. But they soon after met with another English vessel, under the command of Captain Swan; with whom they concerted some expeditions against the towns on the coast. Their attempts, however, did not succeed to their wish, and therefore they returned to the Isle of Plata; from whence they sailed again, soon after, for the Bay of Panama, designing to attack La Velia, a considerable town, situated on the north side of the bay, on the banks of a river, six or seven leagues from the sea. As they wanted canoes to land their men, they went up the river St. Jago, in search of some which they might procure from the Indians; and having spent much time in these necessary preparations, they were now ready for their enterprise: but falling in with a packet-boat, that was sent from Panama to Lima, they learned from some letters which they found on board, that the Armada from Old Spain was arrived at Porto-Bello, and that the president of Panama had sent this packet on purpose to hasten the Plate-fleet from Lima. Being extremely rejoiced at this news, they altered their former resolution, and determined to careen their ships as soon as possible, that they might be ready to intercept this fleet. The place which they chose for this purpose was amongst the King's Islands, or Pearl Keys, which lie near Panama, and are so situated, that all ships bound for Panama from the coast of Lima, pass by them. In pursuance of this design, they sailed the next morning; their force consisting of two ships of war, a fire-ship, and two small barks, as tenders. In their way they took a prize laden with flour, which was extremely acceptable. They soon reached the place

of their destination; and whilst they were cleaning their larger vessels, they sent out their barks to cruize before Panama; which returned in a few days, bringing a prize laden with Indian corn, salt beef, and fowls; which was a seasonable acquisition, as they had eaten but little flesh for some time. Having cleaned their ships, and taken in their water, and being so well furnished with provisions, they sailed towards Panama; intending to cruize before that place, as the Spanish fleet was not yet arrived. Here, as they lay at anchor near the Island of Tobago, in the bay they were surprised with the sight of a great number of canoes full of men, passing between Tobago and another island, which at first threw them into some consternation; but observing that they came directly towards them, they weighed and stood towards the canoes; which, upon a nearer approach, they discovered to be full of English and French adventurers, who were come out of the North Seas, through the Isthmus of Darien: they were in number two hundred Frenchmen, and eighty Englishmen. From these they learned that there were one hundred and eighty Englishmen more, under the command of one Townley, in the country of Darien, making canoes to bring them into these seas; whereupon they determined to sail towards the Gulph of St. Michael, in quest of them. But first, they disposed of the present party, entering the Englishmen on board Davis and Swan's ships, and giving the Frenchmen one of their prizes, under the command of their own senior captain. When they were come near the place where they had cleaned their ships, they met Townley coming with his men in two barks, which they had taken in the night as they were getting out of the river. Their prisoners informed them, that the Lima fleet was ready to sail; which intelligence was soon after confirmed by some letters found on board a packet which they intercepted; and from which they learned that the fleet was coming with all the

strength that Peru could muster, though with express orders not to fight, unless they were forced to it. Having taken some more prizes, and being joined by more adventurers from the Isthmus, their fleet, which consisted now of twelve ships, well appointed, rendezvoused amongst the King's Islands; where they waited the arrival of the Lima fleet. On the 28th of May they discovered this fleet coming towards them, and, as they plainly saw, with an intent to fight; being in all fourteen sail, besides periagoes, rowing with twelve or fourteen oars. Their force, as it afterwards appeared, was vastly superior to that of the privateers; yet the latter determined to engage them: for, being to windward of the Spaniards, they had it at their option to fight, or not. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed, and bore down right before the wind on the enemy, who kept close on a wind to come to them; but night overtook them, when they had only exchanged a few shot on each side. In the night, the Spanish admiral deceived the privateers by the stratagem of a false light, in such a manner, that when morning came, they found he had got the weather-gage of them, and was coming on with full sail. This unexpected stroke ruined the hopes of our adventurers, who were glad to make the best of their way from the enemy; and after a running fight all the day, in which they were driven almost round the Bay of Panama, they came to an anchor in the same place from which they had sailed, on the approach of the Spanish fleet. Thus their long-projected design ended unsuccessfully; and, instead of making themselves masters of the Spanish treasure, they were glad to save themselves by flight; which they could hardly have done, had the Spaniards thought fit to pursue their advantage. One of their ships having been parted from them in the fight, they went in search of her to the Keys of Quicaro; that being the

place appointed for their rendezvous. Here they called a council; and as they had no prospect of making their fortunes by sea, they now determined to attempt something by land. The city of Leon was the place they fixed upon for their first enterprise; which they took and burnt: and shortly after the town of Rea Sejo shared the same fate. But they did not enrich themselves by these expeditions; the Spaniards having been for some time in expectation of such a visit. Captain Davis being now desirous to return to the coast of Peru, and Captain Swan being determined to proceed on the coast of Mexico, they agreed to separate; whereupon Mr. Dampier resolved to accompany the latter, knowing that he intended, after having coasted as far as he thought convenient, to pass over to the East Indies; which was a voyage he wished to make. Swan continued his course to the north-west, on the Mexican coast, though without success, till he found it necessary to depart for California, to careen. He now proposed to his companions a voyage to the East Indies, and with some difficulty obtained their consent. This expedition, indeed, was bold and daring; for they had only sixty days provision, at very short allowance, and they must sail at least two thousand leagues before they could touch at any place; and even when they should arrive at the first land, which is Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands, they were not sure of getting provisions, as the place was under the Spanish government. By good fortune, however, they got sight of this island, three days before their provision was spent. At Guam they procured provisions by stratagem, and then made for Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands; being informed that it abounded with provisions, and was inhabited by a people not well-affected to the Spaniards. It was moreover very convenient for them, as it lay in their way to the East Indies. Here they continued for a considerable time, till, at length, a

great part of the crew, through neglect of discipline, and for want of action, were become mutinous; and their disorders ran so high, that they formed a conspiracy against the captain, who spent his time wholly on shore, and bound themselves by an oath to remove him from his post, and to conceal their design from the rest of the crew, who were likewise on shore, till the ship was under sail. Their plot being ripe for execution, they weighed and fired a gun; whereupon Swan immediately sent his chief mate on board, to inquire into the reasons of these proceedings. Having related to him their pretended grievances, and acquainted him with their resolution, they consented to stay and give their old captain, and the men who were with him, an opportunity of coming on board; but the time limited for this purpose being expired, they set sail, and left him with about thirty-six of the crew on shore. Mr. Dampier had no knowledge of the plot which was thus laid against the captain; but being on board at the time of its execution, he was forced to remain there, though he disliked his company, and was determined to take the first opportunity of escaping from them.

When these adventurers left Mindanao, they designed to cruize before Manilla; and in their way they took some small prizes: but the season of the year being unfit for their purpose, they left that coast, and went to Pulo-Condore, which is the principal and only inhabited one of a number of islands, which are situated about twenty leagues south-east from the river of Cambodia. Here they careened; and being ready for sea, engaged a pilot to carry them into the Bay of Siam; where they hoped to supply themselves with salt fish, having no provisions but rice. In this, however, they were disappointed, and therefore they made the best of their way back to Pulo-Condore. In their return they overtook a jonk from the Island of Sumatra, bound to Siam; the crew of which informed them that the English were

settled at Sumatra. This news of an English settlement so near (of which they had no knowledge before), induced the surgeon to attempt his escape, by staying on shore at Pulo-Condore; in which, however, he was disappointed. Mr. Dampier was also heartily tired of his companions, and determined to give them the slip whenever he might hope to get a passage to an English factory. Having prepared every thing for their expedition, they left Pulo-Condore, and sailed for Manilla; but could not execute their intentions, being driven by contrary winds on the coast of China. The dreadful storms which they met with in their passage from hence effectually deterring them from their design of cruizing before Manilla; the captain persuaded his crew to go towards Cape Comorin, with the view of trying their fortune in the Red Sea.

The eastern monsoon was now at hand, and their best way was through the Straits of Malacca; but the captain, being probably afraid of meeting with some English or Dutch ships in that passage, prevailed upon his men to go round on the east side of the Philippine Islands, and so keeping south towards the Spice Islands, to pass out into the East Indian ocean, about the Island of Timor. This seemed to be a very tedious circuit; but it was not disagreeable to Mr. Dampier, as it promised him the acquisition of further knowledge and experience, which was the principal object he had in view. He likewise hoped that he should be more in the way of meeting with some opportunity to make his escape; upon which he was fully bent. In their passage they stopped between two small islands, about three or four leagues from Mindanao, to clean and refit their ship. Whilst they lay here, a young Indian prince, a native of a neighbouring island, with whom they were acquainted during their former abode at Mindanao, where he was at that time a slave, came on board; and understanding that they were bound farther to the

southward, desired them to transport him to his own island. He informed them that Swan, and several of his men, were then at Mindanao, in good health, and highly honoured by the sultan for their military exploits against his enemies. Upon this intelligence, Mr. Dampier endeavoured to persuade the crew to return with the ship to the river of Mindanao, and offer their service again to their old captain: but he did not succeed in his endeavours; and their present commander getting knowledge of his attempt, and fearing the worst, made all possible haste to be gone; insomuch that, although he had engaged to carry home the Indian prince, who was to return to the ship in three days, he departed without him. They pursued their course through the Spice Islands; and, being got clear of them all, they stood off south, intending to touch at New Holland (which is a part of Terra Australis Incognita), to see what that country would afford them. Here they came to an anchor, on the 5th of January, 1688, and remained some time to clean and refit their vessel; but the miserable natives, who seem far inferior to the Hottentots in every thing that distinguishes the human race from the brute creation, could afford them little assistance of any kind. Whilst they lay there, Mr. Dampier endeavoured to persuade the men to go to some English factory; but was threatened to be turned ashore and left there, for his pains. This made him desist; and he was forced to wait with patience for some more convenient place and opportunity to take his leave. Being ready for sea, they left New Holland on the 12th of March; but meeting with very bad weather, and contrary winds, they were induced to forsake their intended course, and to bear away towards the west side of Sumatra; which was a very pleasing circumstance to our voyager, as it seemed to promise him some opportunity of an escape. As they were coasting along the west side of Sumatra, they took a small boat with four men, belonging to

Achin. The captain sunk the boat, and detained the men, in order to prevent any of his crew from going on shore, knowing the inclinations of Mr. Dampier and others. They now directed their course to the Nicobar Islands, which are situated to the north-west of Sumatra; and coming to an anchor, cleaned their ship, and took in their water, with the utmost expedition; the captain being in hopes to get to Cape Comorin, before the westerly monsoon set in, which was near at hand. Mr. Dampier judging this a proper time and place to make his escape, and finding it impossible to do it by stealth, desired the captain to set him ashore on this island; from which he did not doubt of getting a passage, either to Europe in some trading vessel, or at least to the English factory at Achin, in a canoe. The captain, supposing that he could not be set on shore in a place less frequented by ships than this, and consequently more out of the way of communicating intelligence to the English or Dutch, complied with his request; and he was immediately rowed off, with his chest and bedding. But he had not been on shore an hour, before an officer came, with three or four armed men, to bring him aboard again. Upon his return, he found the ship in an uproar; three more of the crew, encouraged by his example, having asked leave to accompany him. One of these was the surgeon, with whom the captain and the crew would by no means part; but the other two were permitted to return with Mr. Dampier. Besides these, the captain sent on shore the four men belonging to Achin, whom he had taken in the boat; and a Portuguese who came aboard their ship from the Siamese jonk at Pulo Condore; so that their party was now of considerable force, and able to row themselves over to Sumatra. Accordingly they purchased a canoe of the natives, into which they entered with great joy, and launched from the shore. But no sooner were they off, than the canoe overset, bottom upwards; and, though they saved

their lives by swimming, and recovered their chests, yet they were forced to employ three days in drying their books and drafts, and in fitting their canoe for their purpose. Being again ready for sea, they left Nicobar Island, directing their course to Achin, which is a town on the north-west end of Sumatra, distant from Nicobar about forty leagues. Their canoe was about the size of a London wherry; deeper, but not so broad, and built sharp at both ends. They had a good mast, a mat-sail, and, by the contrivance of their Achinese companions, good outlayers, lashed very fast on each side the vessel, being made of strong poles; so that, while these continued firm, the canoe could not overset, as she easily might without them. Thus equipped, they entered upon this bold and hazardous exploit; though both Mr. Dampier, and Mr. Hall, one of his companions, were very sensible of the danger, being experienced seamen. The weather, at their first setting out, was fair, clear, and hot, a gentle breeze just fanning the air. They rowed with four oars, the men taking their turns; Mr. Dampier and Mr. Hall steering also by turns; for of this none of the rest were capable. In this manner they pursued their course till the third morning; when they looked out for Sumatra, supposing that they were within twenty leagues of it. But they looked in vain; and turning themselves round, saw, to their sorrow, Nicobar Island lying not above eight leagues from them. By this it appeared, that they had met with a very strong current against them in the night, a circumstance which Mr. Dampier all along suspected. On the fourth day the wind began to rise, and the sky was clouded; and they beheld, with the utmost concern, very alarming tokens of an approaching tempest. The force of the wind increased apace, and being on their broadside, pressed down the canoe to such a degree, that the poles of the outlayer going from her sides, were plunged under water, and bent like twigs; and

had these given way, they must inevitably have been overset. Besides this danger, Mr. Dampier plainly saw, that, if they held on their present course, the waves of the increasing sea, taking the side of the vessel, would certainly fill and sink them, whereupon he shewed Mr. Hall the necessity of steering away right before the wind and sea; which they accordingly did. The wind was still increasing, and the sea swelled higher and higher, breaking frequently, but doing them no great injury; for the ends of the canoe being very narrow, the steersman received the sea on his back, and thus breaking it, prevented its coming in so as to endanger the vessel, though he could not so effectually exclude it, but that they were constantly employed in heaving out the water. The evening now approached, and their prospect was full of horror. The skies were wrapt in clouds of uncommon blackness, and the tempest was increasing. "The sea," says Mr. Dampier, "was already roaring in a white foam about us; a dark night coming on, and no land in sight to shelter us, and our little ark in danger of being swallowed up by every wave." The terrors of their situation overcame the fortitude of this bold adventurer. "I had been," says he, "in many imminent dangers before now; but the worst of them all was but a play-game in comparison of this. Other dangers came not upon me with such a leisurely and dreadful solemnity: but here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of escaping it; and I must confess that my courage, which I had hitherto kept up, failed me here." To complete his sufferings, Conscience re-assumed her full dominion in his breast, and overwhelmed him with anguish and remorse. Many scenes of his past life now rose before him in their native deformity; and he trembled at the recollection of actions which he had always disapproved, and could not now remember but with extreme horror and detestation. But though he was so much discomposed and dis-

heartened, he did not neglect the necessary precautions for their preservation. Mr. Hall and he were to steer alternately, and their companions were to heave out the water by turns: "And thus," says he, "we provided to spend the most doleful night I was ever in." About ten o'clock the thunder began to roll, and the lightnings to fly, and the rain poured down in torrents: but the rain indeed was very acceptable to them, for they had drank up all the water which they had brought from Nicobar. The wind now blew harder than before; but within half an hour it became more moderate, and the fury of the sea was much abated. Immediately hereupon they had recourse to their compass, by means of a lighted match (of which they kept a piece burning for that purpose), and observing their situation, they ventured to hale to their former course, being once more in hopes of reaching Sumatra. But, about two o'clock in the morning, the tempest came on again, and they were obliged to put before the wind a second time; to run they knew not whither. It was extremely dark, and they were chilled with rain; in which deplorable condition they counted the tedious hours, till at length the day appeared. But they were not much comforted by its appearance; for the first glimpse of the dawn exhibited to them the well-known signs of impending storms. Thus were these unfortunate wanderers situated, their course still continuing before the wind and sea, till, about eight o'clock, to their inexpressible joy, one of the Achinese discovered land. About noon, they saw more land; and steering towards it, descried, before night, the whole coast of Sumatra. The wind continued with a strong gale till the evening, when it abated; and at ten o'clock it died away. They then took to their oars, which they managed with great difficulty, being worn down with hunger and fatigue. The next morning they saw all the low land in full view, at the distance of about eight leagues; and, in the

afternoon, they ran into the mouth of a river, and went to a small fishing village, well known to the Achinese. Their joy at this unexpected deliverance was allayed by the consequences of those hardships to which they had been exposed. They were all seized with a fever; and, though during their continuance at this village, they met with the most kind and tender usage from the natives, yet, finding they were not in the way to recover their health, they desired to go to Achin. Their request was complied with, and a vessel was immediately provided to carry them thither; for they were not able to manage their own canoe. Upon their arrival at Achin, they were taken care of by the English resident at the factory; and were treated with particular humanity by the captain of an English ship which lay then in the road. But the Portuguese died in a few days, and the English sailor did not long survive; and both Hall and Dampier were in imminent danger. They did, however, recover their health; and some English ships arriving there soon after, Mr. Dampier engaged with one of their captains, and went several trading voyages to various parts of the east. In one of these expeditions he met with a merchant-vessel from Mindanao; the supercargo of which had there purchased the Indian Prince, of whom we have spoken before, and his mother; and in the course of his connexions with this gentleman, Mr. Dampier got them into his possession. He had concerted measures for carrying them to their native island, and thereby to establish a commerce with the natives for cloves; but his schemes were frustrated, and the prince was brought to England. Before Mr. Dampier left Sumatra, he was appointed gunner of the fort of Bencoolin, in the service of the East India Company; but, disliking that situation, he determined to take the first opportunity of getting away. Accordingly, in the beginning of

the year 1691, he went on board a ship which came to an anchor in Bencoolin road, and was bound for England. This ship had the misfortune to take in bad water at Bencoolin, which occasioned such a sickness and mortality amongst the crew, that it was with the utmost difficulty they reached the Cape of Good Hope. Here they remained some weeks to recover their sick; and then proceeded on their voyage to England, in company with other vessels; where they arrived in September 1691. On his arrival in the Thames, Prince Jeoly was sent a-shore to be seen by some persons of rank. He was an object of great curiosity, being painted in a most artificial and singular manner, after the custom of his country. Mr. Dampier, when he brought him to England, was in hopes of finding some opportunity of restoring him to his native island; but being now in very necessitous circumstances, was prevailed upon to part with him. He was afterwards carried about for a show, and died at Oxford of the small-pox. His mother died at Bencoolin. Soon after his return, Mr. Dampier published an account of his voyage round the world, and dedicated his book to the president of the Royal Society; who recommended him to the patronage of the first lord of the admiralty. In consequence of this recommendation, he was preferred to the command of the Roe-buck, and sent upon a voyage to New Holland. He executed this commission with success, till, in his return from the Cape of Good Hope, he had the misfortune to lose his ship; for having sprung a leak, which could not be stopped, she foundered at sea, through perfect age, near the island of Ascension. The crew were fortunately saved; and some English ships arriving there about six weeks after, they were taken off from the island; some of the men went to Barbadoes; but the captain returned immediately to England.

We have no further particulars of the life, nor any account of the death, of this circumnavigator of the globe. From the relation of his voyages it appears, that Captain William Dampier was a man of ability and penetration. His curiosity was unbounded; and he was no mean observer of nature in her wonderful varieties. His diligence and attention seem to have recommended him to the notice and favour of the Royal Society; and a collection of curious plants, which he made in his voyage to New Holland, was deposited in the hands of Dr. Woodward. Though he was the companion of licentious men, and engaged with them in many actions of an unwarrantable nature; yet his principles were not corrupted by their example. He seems to have been exempt from the vices peculiar to such persons; and he disdained to mix with them in their grosser scenes of riot and debauchery. His guardian virtues were temperance and fortitude; and to these he probably owed his preservation in a variety of unwholesome climates, and amidst his long-continued hardships and fatigues.

We have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we could collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspice of this illustrious Princess; the few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature, and are brought in here because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history more than with any other, and are at the same time of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to save them.

Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the British constitution never appeared with greater lustre than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted than by Queen Anne and her ministers.

Thus immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the state, and a precedent worthy of imitation; because, without such authentic grounds, it is simply impossible that any probable conjecture should be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or discouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no ministry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to those points which are of greatest consequence to their constituents.

At the close of that work, Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly into the South Seas, and this in terms which shew plainly that the commerce of the company was not, even in a commercial sense, so visionary a thing as the enemies of the Lord High-treasurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there says plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reasons why he so thought. I must confess, that I never understood the scope of this great man's reasoning upon that subject till I read a book lately published by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has shewn, with great public-spirit, how this may be done, either by discovering a north-west passage into those seas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California, or

by prosecuting those discoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and some of our own navigators, in respect to the Terra Australis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies, because these newly-discovered countries are so situated, as that their inhabitants must stand in want of our goods, at the same time that they stand possessed of gold, silver, spices, and other rich commodities, which must come to us in return; and, therefore, Dr. D'Avenant had great reason to suggest, that the new South Sea, might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old East India, Company. This very discourse of his, being addressed to the commissioners for taking and stating accounts, is the clearest demonstration, that, when the South Sea Company was erected, there was a prospect of these advantages, and that, with a view to these, the powers of the company were rendered so extensive, and their capital made so large.

If this has not hitherto been done, still, however, it may be done, since the same powers remain vested in the company by their charter; and it is the more reasonable that something of this sort should be attempted, because the Assiento contract is now given up. Besides, if we are able to settle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we should be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Assiento, and secure to ourselves such a proportion of commerce as might, perhaps, equal all that we now possess. But, if it should be found, that, notwithstanding these extensive powers, the company is either not inclined, or disabled to carry on such a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legislature to transfer those powers to some other body corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with such clauses of emendation or restriction, as the experience we have since had of the management of

public companies shall suggest to be either necessary or expedient.

In the same report by Dr. D'Avenant, there are several other curious remarks on almost all the branches of our commerce; and if such a general state of trade as this were to be laid before the parliament, once at least in every reign, we should then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the usefulness and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digression, into which I was led by the desire of preserving a hint which seems so very capable of improvement, to the last acts of the queen's government and life, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates and great distractions at home. The people grew uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her Majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not to be able either to depend upon those in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of Prince George's death; and this weakness of her's served to increase those disorders in her government, which were so grievous to herself, and so detrimental to her subjects: for her ministers, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, consulted only their ambition and their private views; so that, whenever they met in council, they studied rather to cross each other's proposals, than to settle or pursue any regular plan; and to such a monstrous extravagance these jealousies rose at last, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death.

For being at Kensington, to which she had re-

moved from Windsor, she was seized on the 29th of July with a drowsiness and sinking of her spirits, and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy, and, from that time, continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon, she was sensible, and, at the request of the privy-council, declared the duke of Shrewsbury lord high-treasurer of Great Britain, though he was already lord-chamberlain and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the last act of her administration; for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkeley to hoist his flag on board the fleet, and sending General Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewise dispatched orders for the immediate embarkation of seven British battalions from Flanders. In the mean time, the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domestics, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but, the blisters not rising, her Majesty, about seven in the morning on the 1st of August, 1714, breathed her last. The following character I have taken from a history of her reign in MS. which now, in all probability, will never be printed:

Anne Stuart, daughter to James II. king of England, &c. was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at thirty-nine minutes past eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the most valuable gifts, she became a very accomplished princess. She was moderately tall, and well-proportioned, her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking; for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected; her humility sincere; her good-nature very conspicuous, but would have been more so, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, she

was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondness. Her tenderness, as a mother, to her children, was regulated by the rules of reason and religion; but her indulgence, as the mother of her subjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that the uprightness of her own intentions left her without suspicion. Her affection for her people was so apparent, that it was never doubted, and so firmly rooted, as to be discernible in her last words. With a just sense of her own high dignity, she had a true concern for the rights of her subjects, and a strong passion for the glory of the nation; she loved public-spirit, and encouraged it; and, though she was naturally magnificent and generous, yet she was frugal in her private expences, not to hoard, but to bestow on the necessities of the state. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a lasting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preserve her memory in esteem with those who wish well to the state. In a word, she was blessed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues necessary to make a monarch beloved. At her death, her loss was thought irretrievable, and few who remember her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to say more, and ingratitude to have said less.

Her Majesty had issue by the Prince of Denmark, 1. A daughter, that was still-born the 12th of May, 1684; 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February 1690; 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May, 1686, and died the February following; 4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age; 5. The Lady Mary, born October, 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized; 6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

ABSTRACT OF THE ROYAL NAVY, AS IT STOOD AT THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
First	7	714	5312
Second	13	1170	7194
Third	39	2890	16,089
Fourth	66	3490	16,058
Fifth	32	1100	4160
Sixth	25	500	1047
	182	9954	49,860
Fire-ships, &c. about	50		

The Tonnage of the Royal Navy was equal to 167,596.

CHAP. XXII.

Containing the Naval History of Great Britain, from the Accession of King George I. to the time of his Demise.

WE are now to enter on a new period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of King William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then Princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next Protestant heirs: for the Princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the Elector Palatine, was styled the Princess Elizabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

But the Princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, Elector of Hanover, her son, became heir to this crown on the demise of Queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute passed in the fourth year of her Majesty's reign.

For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law.

The seven justices fixed by the statute were, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Tennison; the lord high-chancellor, Simon, Lord Harcourt; the lord-president of the council, John, duke of

Buckinghamshire; the lord high treasurer, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury; the lord privy seal, William, earl of Dartmouth; first lord-commissioner of the Admiralty, Thomas, earl of Strafford; and lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, Sir Thomas Parker. The lords justices appointed by the successor were, the lord archbishop of York, Sir William Dawes; the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxborough; the earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the Lord Viscount Townshend; and the Lords Halifax and Cowper.*

These lords justices, the same day the queen died, issued a proclamation, declaring the accession of King George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed throughout all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they sent the earl of Dorset to his Majesty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of August the lord high-chancellor, in the name of the lords justices, opened the session of parliament by a speech. On the 17th of the same month, the earl of Berkeley sailed with a squadron of sixteen men of war, and six yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his Majesty, where he was joined by eight ships of the States-general, under Rear-admiral Coperen; and, to secure the coasts and the Channel, Admiral Wager was sent down to Portsmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip such ships as were fit for service.

His Majesty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reigns of government into his own hands; and very soon made some considerable alterations in

* It may not be amiss to remark, that the electorate was created in 1692, in favour of Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover, his Majesty's father, who, in 1698, was succeeded by this monarch in that quality, his mother, the Princess Sophia, being styled electress-dowager, who died at the age of eighty-four, June 8, 1714, N. S.

the several boards; particularly in that of the Admiralty, which was clean swept; for, instead of Thomas, earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aislabie, Esq. Sir James Wishart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his Majesty appointed Edward, earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Esq. Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Esqrs. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Esq. was declared admiral and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet; and, soon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to relieve Sir James Wishart in the Mediterranean.*

The subject of this work obliges me only to take notice of such acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after observing that a new parliament was summoned, and met at Westminster, March the 17th, the next thing that occurs is, that, on the 1st of April, 1715, they came to a resolution to allow ten thousand seamen, at four pounds a month; and, on the 9th of May, following, granted 35,574*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* for the half-pay of sea-officers; 197,896*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277*l.* for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums

* In order to render the subsequent history more clear, it will be requisite to give the reader a short state of the commands in the navy, at the accession of King George I.

Sir John Leake, Knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.
Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet.
Sir James Withart, Knight, admiral of the white squadron.
Sir John Norris, Knight, admiral of the blue.
James, earl of Berkeley, vice-admiral of the red.
Sir Edward Whitaker, Knight, vice-admiral of the white.
John Baker, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue.
Sir Charles Wager, Knight, rear-admiral of the red.
Sir Hovenden Walker, Knight, rear-admiral of the white.
Sir Thomas Hardy, Knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreseen, that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments.

Amongst these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the Czar and his subjects with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her Majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means; *viz.* sending a strong squadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather because their High Mightinesses the States-general, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures, in order to protect the commerce of their subjects.

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for the service, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him.* The Admiral hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate, having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate also, and had in his division eight ships of the line, the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the Nore

* When the commerce of Britain suffers, a British fleet is the quickest and most effectual remedy that can be applied.

on the 18th of May, and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June following; where, finding the Dutch squadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month.

One of the first things Sir John Norris did, was, to dispatch an express to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negociation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received was so loose and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two British men of war, forty-six merchant ships, that were not ready to sail from England with Sir John Norris. These ships remained till the Danish fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of August the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the Russian squadron, resolved to sail up the Baltic with the English and Dutch.

As the Czar of Muscovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at last resolved to give the chief command of it to the Czar of Muscovy, but so that Sir John Norris should command the vanguard of the united fleet, the Czar the body of the line of battle, the Danish admiral Count Gueldenlew the rear, and that the Dutch commodore, with his squadron, and

five British men of war, should proceed with the trade of both nations for their respective harbours in the Baltic. According to this resolution, the 16th the Czar hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by Sir John Norris with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Danish and Dutch; and, these compliments being paid, his Czarian Majesty gave the signal for sailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the Kiegerbucht, from whence they sailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swedish fleet was returned to Carlscroon, the British and Dutch merchant ships, with their convoys, separated, and proceeded on their respective voyages, and the Czar, with his squadron, sailed for the coast of Mecklenburgh.

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition: but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrewit into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's absolute orders. On the 28th of October Sir John Norris, with the British squadron under his command, and the Danish men of war commanded by Count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruizers, which Sir John Norris had sent to Carlscroon, returned to him with an account, that they had seen the Swedish fleet, with two flags and seven broad pendants, in Carlscroon, and all the ships they could discover lay rigged, as also that they had three cruisers under sail off the port. That night Sir John Norris sent these two cruisers, being the best sailers of his squadron, to Dantzick, to hasten the trade down the Baltic, and, if they found the six British men of war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to lose a moment that could be made use of for sailing, but to proceed. These cruisers arrived at

Dantzick on the 30th, where they joined the British men of war, and the trade, which, on the 31st, all sailed from Dantzick.

On the 9th of November, the British men of war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's squadron at Bornholm, having sailed from the fleet off Dantzick on the 4th of this month, and the next day, came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th, arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours at Dantzick for provisions. A few days after, Sir John sailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were surprised by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the August of sixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the Trow, on the 29th of November, in the morning. Sir John Norris left seven ships of war, under the command of Commodore Cleeland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther security of the British trade, if necessary. Thus I have prosecuted the history of this Baltic expedition, from the sailing to the return of the fleet, that the reader might the better apprehend it: and now I ought to recur to the proceedings of our fleets in the channel, but that it seems requisite to clear up some points relating to this Baltic expedition, which have been the subject of dispute.

The great point in question as to this Swedish expedition is, whether it took rise from our own concerns, or from those of the electorate of Hanover. On the one hand, it is very certain, that the Swedish privateers took our ships as well as those of other nations, and that, in fitting our fleet for those seas, we did no more than the Dutch. On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our minister presented a memorial, in which he set forth the particular damages sustained by our merchants, amounting to 69,024*l.*

2*s.* 9*d.* for which he demanded satisfaction, and, at the same time, insisted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swedish Majesty had lately published, and by which the commerce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the English. This memorial was presented June 15, 1715, and in it the nature of Sir John Norris's commission was explained; so that, thus far, all this quarrel seems to arise from his Majesty's care of the British commerce.

But, as elector of Hanover, he had also some disputes with his Majesty of Sweden, of quite a different nature; for having purchased from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the first-mentioned power in declaring war against Sweden; and, even before this was done, some English ships joined the Danish fleet, in order to distress the Swedes. Of this, the Swedish minister here, complained by a memorial delivered to Lord Townshend, then secretary of state, dated October 3, 1715. His Swedish Majesty, also, in answer to the Hanoverian declaration of war, published some very severe reflections, in which he asserts, that the honour of the British flag had been prostituted to serve the interests of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions. Thus far I have given the evidence on both sides, and leave the whole to the determination of the reader, with this observation only, that the Dutch, though no less injured, no less concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it necessary to come to such extremities.

While this squadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguished in Scotland, but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarcely deserves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was sent to hoist his flag in the Downs in the middle of summer, and continued there as long as

the season would permit; but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was sent to Edinburgh, from whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoisted his flag as commander in chief of the squadron then upon the coasts, which would have been highly serviceable in case the pretender's adherents had either possessed a naval force, or had been succoured from beyond the seas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and, the duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared, how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had, indeed, but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for King George, but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who would otherwise have joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriffmuir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, the same day that General Foster, and the English who were in arms, surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the Chevalier De St. George ventured over into Scotland in a very poor vessel, where soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north with the utmost secrecy, which he effected, by going on board a clean tallowed French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose, February 3d, in sight of some English men of war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her.

These were the principal transactions of this year, at the close of which things were still in such confusion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large supplies for the ensuing year; *viz.* 10,000 seamen, at the rate of 4*l. per* month, the sums of 233,849*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and

23,693*l.* for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. We have already taken notice of what passed under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and have, therefore, only to observe, that this year, some of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, Admiral Baker, who had the command of the English squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reason, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Sallee rovers still did a great deal of mischief, and it was the more difficult to suppress them, because their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men of war were very seldom able to come near enough to exchange shot with them. At last, Captain Delgarno, one of the most active officers in the navy, in his Majesty's ship the Hind, of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men of war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obstinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but she had not been in his possession above a quarter of an hour before she sunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished; this, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his Majesty's ship the Bridgewater, delivered, in a great measure, the English commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruptions given by these pirates.

In the month of July, his Majesty went over to Holland, escorted by an English squadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the disturbances in the north made his presence at that time particularly necessary, and where he continued the rest of the year 1716, at the close of which, Admiral Aylmer sailed with his squadron for Holland to escort him home. In the mean time, the government was employed in extinguishing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the best manner they could, against the revival of such disturbances, of which they had the greater hopes from

the conduct which the regent of France pursued, who shewed a strong inclination to live upon good terms with Great Britain, as was indeed his interest. But it very soon appeared, that, notwithstanding the chevalier's adherents had lost their hopes with respect to succours from France, they had still another power willing and ready to assist them.

Upon his Majesty's return a dangerous conspiracy was said to be discovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought necessary to secure the person and papers of Count Gyllenbourg, then his Swedish Majesty's ambassador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime minister of that kingdom; a fact which struck the foreign ministers here with the utmost surprise, from which, however, they quickly recovered themselves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his ministry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot against the government. About the same time, the famous Baron Goertz was, at his Britannic Majesty's request, arrested in Holland, where he acted as minister from the king of Sweden. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his Swedish Majesty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public, and the parliament soon after shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt.

It was, indeed, amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by so many, and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind; but whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it

absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his Britannic Majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself by the vigorous resolutions taken here: for, on the 21st of February, it was resolved in the House of Commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorize his Majesty to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during such a time as his Majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his kingdom;" which afterwards passed both houses, and had the royal assent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was published for this purpose.

As it was foreseen, that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the Baltic, the necessary supplies were very early granted; *viz.* 10,000 seamen for the service of the year 1717; 226,799*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and 20,761*l.* for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea-stores as might be necessary. Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design, and Sir George, in obedience to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen.

Whatever necessity there might be for these vigorous measures, yet it is certain, that this necessity did not so fully appear to many who were hitherto supposed as penetrating politicians as any in this kingdom; and, therefore, an opposition was created where it was least expected, I mean by some who had the honour to be in the king's councils, which, however, did not hinder them from expressing their sentiments with a British freedom. Their arguments, however, had so little weight, that, as soon as Sir George Byng

was sailed, some of the great ministers prevailed upon his Majesty to send, on the 3d of April, 1717, a message to the House of Commons to this effect: "That, being desirous to secure his kingdoms against the present dangers with which they were threatened from Sweden, he hoped they would enable him to make good such engagements as might ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account." This occasioned warm debates in the house, it being said, that the demanding a supply, without communicating the particular uses to which it was to be appropriated, was unparliamentary; and even Mr. Walpole, afterwards created earl of Orford, and Mr. Speaker, appear to be against it. However, it was at length carried in the committee, by 164 to 149. "That it was the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty, to concert such measures with foreign princes and states as may prevent any charge and apprehension from the designs of Sweden for the future. When the question for agreeing with the committee was put in the house, it was carried but by four voices; *viz.* yeas 153, noes 149.

The next morning, Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the Lord Townshend know, that his Majesty had no farther occasion for his service as lord lieutenant of Ireland: whereupon Mr. Walpole, who was then first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. Methuen, secretary of state, and Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, laid down their employments. A few days after, Edward Russel, earl of Orford, resigned his office of first lord of the Admiralty; upon which his Majesty thought proper to change that board, and, accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Matthew Aylmer, Esq. Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. were made lords commissioners of the Admiralty.

It was necessary to take notice of these domestic

proceedings, before we followed Sir George Byng with his fleet into the Baltic; where so little was performed, that it is not easy to give the reader any tolerable satisfaction about it. On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen: the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join. Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruise in the Cattegat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruisers being, likewise, employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port. Sir George himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British squadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had, by this time, absolutely laid aside whatever designs were formed, either to our prejudice, or against the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, our admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several parts of the Baltic, and, in the Kiogerbucht, was joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by Vice-admiral Gabel; they sailed together towards Carlscroon; but were obliged, by contrary winds, to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and, accordingly, on the 2d of November, passed the Sound with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burden, leaving behind him six men of war, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and, on the 15th of the same month, arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames: there leaving his squadron, he came up to London, where he was graciously received by his Majesty. So that here ended

the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions that the nation was under from the Swedes.*

In the mean time, his Majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czar of Muscovy; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken to discharge Count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of Orleans ordered the French minister here to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's disposition, and that he was thoroughly satisfied, that his Swedish Majesty had not, or ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquillity of his Britannic Majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would

* To quiet the minds of the people, and prevent their running into a notion that the fitting out this fleet was not really intended for the honour and service of Great Britain, the following account was published in the Gazette:

Admiralty-office, June 28.

"Captain Lestock, of the Panther, who commands the ships appointed by Sir George Byng to cruise off Gottenburgh, gives an account by his letter, dated the 13th of last month, that, on the 27th of April, he sailed out of Marde in Norway, and three days after, took a Swedish privateer-dogger, of six guns, and seventy-two men, commanded by one St. Leger, the person who some time since seized one of our packet-boats. That the same afternoon, he re-took a Dutch hoy, which had been taken the day before by a Swedish ship of ten guns; and, on the 1st of May, in the afternoon, he met and took the privateer into whose hands the hoy had fallen; all which prizes were carried into Arundel; and that the 9th, at night, the Strafford re-took a Dutch fly-boat. By another letter from Captain Lestock, dated the 26th of May, he gave an account, that his Majesty's ship the Severn had taken a pirate, and re-taken a Dutch fly-boat; that the Chatham had taken two Swedish privateers; and that, on the 15th of the said month of May, our ships took a Swedish brigantine of eight guns and twenty-six men.

cause a strict enquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty. Upon this proposition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that Count Gyllenbourg should be exchanged against Mr. Jackson, the English minister at Stockholm, and that Baron Goertz should be released from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the British nation.

The ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed at this time a very just and laudable design of suppressing the pirates in the West Indies, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. And to give the public a just idea of their care in this respect, they caused an order of council, dated the 15th of September, 1717, to be published to the effect following; *viz.* "That complaint having been made to his Majesty by great numbers of merchants, masters of ships, and others, as well as by the several governors of his Majesty's islands and plantations in the West Indies, that the pirates are grown so numerous, that they infest not only the seas of Jamaica, but even those of the northern continent of America; and that, unless some effectual means be used, the whole trade from Great Britain in those parts will not only be obstructed, but be in imminent danger of being lost; his Majesty has, upon mature deliberation in council, been graciously pleased, in the first place, to order a proper force to be employed for suppressing the said piracies; and, that nothing may be wanting for the more effectual putting an end to the said piracies, his Majesty had also been graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, dated the 5th instant. And, whereas it hath also been represented to his Majesty, that the House of Lords had addressed her late Majesty on this account, particularly with respect to the Bahama is-

lands; but that there were not any means used, in compliance with that address, for securing the said Bahama islands; and that, at this time, the pirates have a lodgment with a battery on Harbour Island, one of the Bahamas, as also that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for pirates, is at Providence, the principal of those islands; his Majesty has been farther pleased to give directions for dislodging those pirates, who have taken shelter in the said islands, as well as for securing those islands, and making settlements, and a fortification there, for the safety and benefit of the trade and navigation of those seas for the future."

By a proclamation, dated the 5th of September, 1717, his Majesty promised his pardon to any English West India pirates, who should surrender themselves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and, after the said 5th of September, any of his Majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds, for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, so as he should be convicted, was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating of the events of next year, give a large account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolency of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the British ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The troubles of the north still subsisting, we could

not suddenly extricate ourselves from the share we had taken in them; though it was visibly such a one, as had put our commerce under great difficulties abroad, and perplexed us not a little at home. The merchants complained of the bad effects which the prohibition of trade with Sweden had produced; asserting that, instead of thirty thousand pounds a-year, which the balance of that trade constantly brought us, we now lost ninety thousand pounds a-year, by purchasing Swedish commodities from other people, particularly from the Dutch, who raised the price of Swedish iron four pounds a ton; which was thought the harder, because, in the original quarrel, the Dutch were as deep as ourselves, and now, by an unaccountable turn, they were in possession of the whole Swedish trade; and we, after all our armaments, were entirely excluded,

This was the effect of the Swedish war abroad; but here at home, things were in a worse situation; for several of the leading patriots, who had resigned their places, upon that change of measures which produced the Swedish war, insisted warmly, both within doors, and without, that it was now carried on, not only without regard, but in direct opposition, and with manifest disadvantage to the interest of Great Britain. In proof of this, they alleged not only the memorials presented from time to time by the Swedish ministers, but those also delivered of late by the minister from the Czar; which concurred in affirming, that all our measures in the north were governed by the German interest. I do not take upon me to determine, whether these gentlemen were in the right, or in the wrong. I only relate matters of fact as I find them: and relate them, because my history would not be intelligible without them.

The ministry, however, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of Sweden to such terms as they thought reasonable by force. This was a method,

which, of all princes, Charles XII. could least bear; and, therefore, instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts entirely on the means of carrying on the war; and, though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of Germany.

But this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and France, and, in conjunction with these powers, had undertaken to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht left them. With this view, the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th of January, 1717; and, that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered, as will be shewn, into the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences was the source of all the troubles that disturbed Europe, from the time of its conclusion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty, the terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed for some months afterwards, the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of Spain: in order to which his Imperial Majesty was to have Sicily given him; and the reversion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended, was to be secured to her posterity. The crown of Spain was highly displeased with the provision made for its interest: and though the emperor seemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as soon as Spain

was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he also grew displeased with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently informed. These Spanish disputes were another ground of opposition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the interest of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great Britain. In spite of this clamour, the ministry concerted, with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the island of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now possessed of it with the title of king, and giving it to his Imperial Majesty; to which the first mentioned prince was obliged to submit, because he saw plainly, that if he did not consent to yield this kingdom to the emperor, he should either have it taken from him by force, or lose it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was by our plan, to be taken, and bestowed on the duke of Savoy in exchange for Sicily.

In this critical situation things were, when the parliament met on the 21st of November, 1717; and on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the custom had been of late years, 10,000 seamen for the year 1718, and 224,837*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed upon to send a message to the House of Commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms:

"GEORGE REX.

"His Majesty being at present engaged in several negociations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his

endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this house therewith; not doubting, but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house will, at their next meeting, provide for such exceeding."

This message was brought to the house by Mr. Boscawen, and an address, promising to make good such exceedings as were mentioned, if they should be found necessary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a division; which was extremely agreeable to the court. The next day, the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the Right Honourable James, earl of Berkley, appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq. rear-admiral of Great Britain, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

While these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spanish minister here, M. De Monteleone, who was a man of foresight and intrigue, being alarmed at these appearances, represented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, "That so powerful an armament in time of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two crowns." The king answered, "That it was not his intention to conceal the subject of that armament; and that he designed soon to send Admiral Byng, with a powerful squadron, into the Mediterranean Sea, in

order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, against those who should seek to disturb it." The reason assigned for acting with so much vigour was, the dispositions made in Spain for attacking the island of Sicily, and the hardships that were put upon the British merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spanish affairs, defended himself and the measures he had taken, with great spirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the Spanish expedition against the island of Sicily was not so much a matter of choice as of necessity. I should wrong that able minister extremely, if I should endeavour to give his sense in any other words than his own; and, therefore, I have preserved his letter upon this subject;* which is so much the more curious, as no

* The letter referred to in the text, was written by Cardinal Alberoni to the Marquis De Beretti Landi, his Catholic Majesty's ambassador to the States-general, who communicated it to their High Mightinesses. The reader will easily perceive, that this letter falls a good deal later in point of time, than where I place it; but, as it contains the reasons of the Sicilian expedition, I thought it came in best for my purpose here.

"I acquaint your excellency, that my Lord Stanhope set out the 26th of this month from the court at the Escurial for Madrid; whence he was to proceed in his journey to Paris; having seen proofs sufficient, during his stay here, of the constancy and firmness with which the king rejected the project of the prince's mediators, and the suspension of arms last proposed. He learned from their Majesties' own mouths, in two long conferences, to which he had the honour to be admitted, that they detested that project, as unjust, prejudicial, and offensive to their honour; I told him, that I did not comprehend what motive could induce the confederated powers to admit the duke of Savoy into their alliance; not only considering of what little use he will be to them, but because it is certain those powers have no need of the troops of Savoy, unless that prince will maintain them at his own expence, which will be very difficult to obtain.

"As for Sicily, I declared to my Lord Stanhope, in the presence of the Marquis De Nancre, that France and Great Britain had of themselves, and none else whatever, induced the king to recover that kingdom; for both these courts had assured his Majesty, that the duke of Savoy was treating with the arch-duke to give up to him that island, if he would accept of it; but that he

notice at all is taken of it, in some late accounts of this expedition.

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the squadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following, he received his instructions, which were to this purpose: "That he should, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the king of Spain, and likewise the viceroy of Naples, and governor of Milan, that he

had refused it, considering it would be better for him to receive it by the disposition of the powers' mediators, and with the consent of Spain, because, in that case, he would have the advantage to obtain it by a more just and more authentic title; besides the assurance of keeping it by the favour of so powerful a guaranty. I likewise shewed my Lord Stanhope, that the arch-duke being master of Sicily, all Italy will become slaves to the Germans, and the powers of Europe not be able to set her at liberty. And, that the Germans in the last war, with a small body of troops, made head, and disputed the ground against the two crowns, which had formidable armies in Lombardy, were masters of the country, and a great number of considerable places. I also represented to him very clearly, that, to make war in Lombardy, was to make it in a labyrinth, and that it was the fatal burial place of the French and English. That every year of the last war, cost France 18,000 or 20,000 recruits, and above fifteen millions; that the duke of Vendosme, at the time things went prosperously, said, that if the war in Italy lasted, the two crowns must indispensably abandon that province, because of the immense charge. That, according to the engagements now proposed, the succours of Great Britain are far off, and impracticable, and that the rest would cost a Potosi, enough to ruin a kingdom. That at present those of France are impossible, and would be generally opposed by the nation. That the arch-duke would triumph with all these advantages, and England not recover the least reimbursement; when, on the contrary, she might gain considerably by siding with Spain. In conclusion, I told Lord Stanhope plainly, that the proposition of giving Sicily to the arch-duke was absolutely fatal; and that of settling bounds afterwards to his vast designs, a mere dream and illusion, since that prince, being possessed of Sicily, would have no farther need either of France or England, for bringing immediately the rest of Italy under subjection; and no power would be in a condition to oppose it. This is the substance of all the conferences my Lord Stanhope had, and your excellency may make use of it as occasion shall offer."

was sent into that sea, in order to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences arisen between the two crowns, and for preventing any farther violation of the neutrality of Italy, which he was to see preserved. That he was to make instances to both parties, to forbear all acts of hostility, in order to the setting on foot and concluding the proper negociations of peace. But, in case the Spaniards should still persist to attack the emperor's territory in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that purpose, or should endeavour to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obstruct the same; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and to offer them his assistance to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility; but, if his friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships and convoys, or, if necessary, by opposing them openly." It is evident, that these instructions were not of the clearest kind; but, it seems, they were explained to him before-hand, by the great men who had then the direction of all things, as appears by a letter which is still preserved, and which I have placed in the notes.*

* The letter referred to in the text, is from Mr. Secretary Craggs, immediately before his embarkation; it is preserved by the accurate historian of this expedition, in his appendix, p. 208, of his original edition; from whence I have transcribed it, as a full proof that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the ministers.

" SIR, *Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.*

" I enclose to you his Majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

" After what passed yesterday between my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at Lord

The admiral sailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb vessels, an hospital ship, and a store ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the Rupert to Lisbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, the late earl of Harrington, the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under, with his squadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy shewed the letter to the Cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, "That his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms;" adding, "That the Spaniards were not to be frighted, and he was so well convinced of the fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success." Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a list of the British squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own squadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, entreated him "To consider the sincere attention the king, his master, had to the honour and interest of his Catholic Majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours through the whole

Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wish you a good voyage and success in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am with great truth, Sir,

"Your most obedient,

"Humble servant,

"J. CRAGGS."

course of the present negociation, to procure the most advantageous conditions possible for Spain, in which he had succeeded even beyond what any unprejudiced person could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the request of the king of Spain himself, as also by that of Westminster, the 25th of May, 1716, his Majesty found himself obliged to defend the emperor's dominions when attacked, he had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though, ever since the enterprise against Sardinia, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year last past had been strongly called upon by the emperor to comply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was impossible for him to delay any longer the sending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's instructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and by the orders he had himself received, that his Majesty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the interests of the king of Spain, and hoped his Catholic Majesty would not, by refusing to recall his troops, or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of sincere friendship he always designed to cultivate with his Catholic Majesty."

All that the cardinal could be brought to promise was, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his resolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he could obtain and send it away; the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking vigorous measures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into some of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was written under the admiral's letter in these words: "His Catholic Majesty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may exe-

cute the orders which he has from the king his master."

"The Cardinal ALBERONI."*

"*Escurial, July* 15, 1718."

Mr. Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls, and merchants settled in the Spanish sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns. This shewed plainly enough, that our minister was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of the administration at home, who, notwithstanding they steadily pursued these warlike measures, as constantly adhered to the first resolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, on the court of Spain. With this view, Lord Stanhope set out himself for Madrid, in order to make new propositions to his Catholic Majesty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose, for Cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the British ministry could be with regard to theirs; and therefore rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was styled insolence by his enemies.†

* See the account of the expedition of the British fleet to Sicily. As this is collected very fairly from original papers, I depend upon it as to facts; but have endeavoured to state them with concurring evidence, in a manner more suitable to this history, in which I desire to be considered in no other light than as a lover of truth, independently of complaisance or party.

† Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of August, and on the 14th had a long conference with the cardinal at the Escurial, which gave him great hopes of success; but, it seems, the news which that court received a few days after, from Sicily, so elevated the prime minister, that all prospect of a pacification vanished, which his lordship no sooner perceived, than he left

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, Vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of July, he anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon: here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen on the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering S.E. upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence the 25th of July, and arrived the 1st of August in the Bay of Naples.

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily preserved that kingdom for the house of Austria, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of Sicily; that the Marquis De Lede had conquered almost as soon as he landed, or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that

Spain as soon as possible, having his audience of leave on the 26th of the same month.

power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections.*

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Messina; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the British fleet and his own forces; upon which he came at last to this prudent resolution, which was, to embark 2000 German foot under the command of General Wetzel, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina, and fort Salvador, in pursuance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the 6th of August, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Messina.

The Spanish army, after having taken the city last mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore very likely that an action would ensue; and for this reason it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do,

* The imperial viceroy of Naples presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command; and to the admiral's son he made a present of a very fine sword. After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the Duke De Matelona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewise sent refreshments to the fleet, consisting of a hundred oxen, three hundred sheep, six hundred pounds of sugar, seventy hogsheads of brandy, and several other things.

since, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, the only treaty of which the Spaniards could take any notice, the Germans were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion seemed to be an odd way of conserving a neutrality.* This step,

* As our ministers, in conjunction with those of the emperor and France, were at great pains to inspire all Europe with the utmost horror for Cardinal Alberoni, so that minister, than whom perhaps there never was an abler politician, thought fit, on his side, to publish several pieces, in order to shew, that the present dispute was not between the English and Spanish nations, but between the English ministry, who would give law to the king of Spain, and the Spanish nation, that were determined not to receive it. Among these, the following manifesto was thought the most remarkable, and will serve to give the reader a clear idea of the manner in which the court of Spain would have had this affair understood. It is a letter written by the cardinal to the M. De Beretti Landi; but the reader will see by the close of it, why I style it a manifesto; in which light it was also considered by our court, as appears by Secretary Craggs's letter to the Spanish minister, dated from Hampton-court, Sept. 4, 1718, in which he complains loudly of this proceeding, as if intended to excite the merchants to disaffection towards the government:—

"SIR,

"It is notorious every where, that the ministry of Great Britain, being prepossessed by their passions and private views, have endeavoured, by all imaginable means, to infuse into the English nation an entire distrust and aversion for Spain, to engage the said nation to pursue the maxims of that ministry, which are so prejudicial and contrary to the common good. It is known, that of late the government of England hath used their utmost endeavours to persuade the nation, that the application and designs of Spain were to increase considerably her naval forces, to oppose the commerce which all nations in general carry on with the Indies, notwithstanding the two last treaties and the religious observation of his Majesty's royal word ought to convince the English of the artifice with which those rumours are spread, and which are contrived only to excite distrust and disunion with the Spaniards; and every man of sound judgment will reflect, that God has put the Indies into the power of that monarchy, to the end that all nations might partake of that advantage: however, it is the king's will, that, for the greater proof of the sincere desire he has to maintain the public tranquillity, and for dispelling reports so pernicious to the quiet of the subjects of Spain and England, your excellency should assure the English merchants that are in Holland, and all those who are concerned in commerce, that his Majesty will never

however, was necessary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good sense and good breeding, was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

He sent for this purpose his first captain, who was Captain Saunders, with a letter to the Marquis De Lede, in which he acquainted him, "That the king his master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquillity of Italy, had honoured him with the command of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into these seas, and that he came fully impowered and instructed to promote such measures as

alter the established laws, nor ever infringe the treaties which the English nation enjoy, with so great benefit, by his generosity; and that the naval forces of Spain are to consist only of a limited number, that may be sufficient to secure her coasts in the Mediterranean, and to defend and convoy her galleons. For a proof of what his Majesty orders me to say to your excellency, a new conjuncture just now offers itself, in which the king my master, to signalize his love of the British nation, passes by, without resentment, the contents of the paper here subjoined, which is a copy of that delivered by Mr. Stanhope, and by which an open rupture is declared, if the project be not accepted; and they offer to oblige the king to it by threats. On the contrary, his Majesty, instead of being provoked at such a proceeding, has ordered, as an instance of the good faith with which he hath always acted, that the effects and merchandise of the English, which are in the flota that is newly arrived at Cadiz from the Indies, shall not be touched, nor any charge made in relation to them, it being the king's intention, that what belongs to each of the English merchants respectively, should be delivered to them. The resolution is very different from the rumours which the British ministry spreads, and is an incontestible proof, that the king's will ever inclines him to promote the benefit of that nation. His Majesty orders, that your Excellency read this letter to all English merchants in general, as also the contents of the paper hereunto annexed, and that you assure them, that the king will firmly maintain the treaty, preferring the advantages of the British nation to all other satisfaction, and hoping that, in return, men so wise, so prudent, and so intelligent, will not let themselves be drawn away by the persuasions, and for the private ends of the English ministry, which are entirely fatal to the peace of the two nations and of the two kingdoms.

"I am, &c."

might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned; that his Majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success. He therefore proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace:" but added, "That, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of service, nor to be instrumental in bringing about so desirable a work, he then hoped to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend."

The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, "That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his master's arms might be put to, but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain; that he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions; but his master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed for it."

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spanish fleet had sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and, therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but as he stood in about the point of the Faro, towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca that

came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away General Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for about noon he had a fair sight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven gallies, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio De Casteneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock: on the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but in good order of battle.

The admiral followed them all the rest of that day, and the succeeding night, with small gales N.E. and sometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early, (the 11th,) the English being got pretty near them,* the Marquis De Mari, rear-admiral, with six Spanish men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which the admiral detached Captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ships after them; and the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to, but she not minding it, the Argyle fired a second, and the Canterbury, being something nearer, fired a third; upon which the Spanish ship fired her stern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began.

* It is evident from hence, that our admiral had no intention to decline fighting; and the following letter from Earl Stanhope, then secretary of state, plainly proves it was not the intention of those who sent him that he should decline fighting. It is a curious piece, and very well worthy of the reader's notice, as it tends to explain the great views of this expedition.

"*Bayonne, Sept.* 2, 1718.

"Being arrived here last night, in six days from Madrid, I do,

The admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, Captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, Captain Haddock, came up first with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing; which, as soon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa, of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of sixty guns, struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, Captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias, of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, Captain Haddock left that ship, much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, Captain Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish admiral of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three; and then the Kent, bearing down under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter;

in pursuance of the commands I have from his Majesty, take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

"If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, should not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the first blow you give should, if possible, be decisive.

"The two great objects which, I think, we ought to have in view, are, to destroy their fleet, if possible, and to preserve such a footing in Sicily, as may enable us to land an army there."

upon which, the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee-quarter; on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, Rear-admiral Guevara and another sixty-gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and stood after them, until it was almost night, but it being little wind, and they hauling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night.

The Essex took the Juno of thirty-six guns; the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns; and Rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorsetshire, took the Isabella of sixty guns. The action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore.* The English received but little da-

* A LIST OF THE BRITISH FLEET UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR GEORGE BYNG, IN THE ACTION OFF CAPE PASSARO IN SICILY, IN THE YEAR 1718.

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
Barfleur,	Admiral Byng, 1 George Saunders, 2 Richard Lestock,	730	90
Shrewsbury,	Vice-admiral Cornwall, John Balchen,	545	80
Dorsetshire,	Rear-admiral Delaval, John Furger,	535	80
Burford,	Charles Vanbrugh,	440	70
Essex,	Richard Rowzier,	440	70
Grafton,	Nicholas Haddock,	440	70
Lenox,	Charles Strickland,	440	70
Breda,	Barrow Harris,	440	70
Orford,	Edward Falkingham,	440	70
Kent,	Thomas Matthews,	440	70
Royal Oak,	Thomas Kempthorne,	440	70
	Carried over	5330	810

mage: the ship that suffered most was the Grafton, which, being a good sailer, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from Captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. The letter is singular enough in its kind to deserve notice, and, therefore, the historian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preserved it. Thus it runs:

"SIR,

"We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as *per* margin.

"I am, &c.

"*Canterbury, off Syracusa, Aug.* 16, 1718." "G. WALTON."

These ships that Captain Walton thrust into his margin, would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared that he had taken four Spanish

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
	Brought over	5330	810
Captain,	Archibald Hamilton,	440	70
Canterbury,	George Walton,	365	60
Dreadnought,	William Haddock,	365	60
Rippon,	Christopher Obrian,	365	60
Superbe,	Streynsham Master,	365	60
Rupert,	Arthur Field,	365	60
Dunkirk,	Francis Drake,	365	60
Montague,	Thomas Beverly,	365	60
Rochester,	Joseph Winder,	280	50
Argyle,	Coningsby Norbury,	280	50
		8885	1400

men of war, one of sixty guns, commanded by Rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel. Such is the account given of this famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great industry throughout all Europe, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been surprised and destroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from piratical violence. It is but just in any cause to hear both parties, and the office of an historian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illustrate by his writings. For this reason I have thought it requisite to give place in a note below to the Spanish account without curtailing or disguising it.*

* "On the 9th of August, in the morning, the English squadron was discovered near the tower of Faro, which lay by towards night, off Cape Della Metelle, over-against the said tower. The Spanish squadron was then in the Strait, and some ships and frigates were sent to other places; besides the detachment commanded by Admiral Guevara. And, as the intention of the English in coming so near was not known, the admirals of the Spanish squadron resolved to go out of the Strait, to join together near Cape Spartivento, carrying along with them the transports laden with provisions, that they might penetrate the better into the designs of the English; the rather, because the officer whom Sir George Byng had sent to the Marquis De Lede was not yet returned. The said officer had orders to propose to the said marquis a suspension of arms for two months; upon which the said marquis answered him, that he could not do it without orders from court. Nevertheless, though it was believed that the alternative was taken of sending a courier to Madrid with the said proposal, the English squadron took the opportunity of night to surprise the Spanish

There is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions

squadron, and to improve those advantages which were owing to dissimulation.

" The said English squadron, on the 10th in the morning, advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted by all the Spanish ships and vessels which were there; and it is to be observed, that Admiral Byng having convoyed some transport-vessels as far as Rixoles, with the arch-duke's troops, the officer dispatched to the Marquis De Lede affirmed, that it was not to commit any act of hostility, but only that the said transports might be secured from insults under his protection.

" The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get intelligence of the English squadron; and though they saw the English made all the sail they could, their intention being not known, to approach the Spanish squadron, whose admiral knew not then whether the English came as friends or enemies, yet the Spaniards, being two leagues from the English, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities. During this, a calm happened, by which the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another; and the Spanish admiral, perceiving this accident, caused the ships of the line to be towed, in order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the gallies to begin any act of hostility; which they might have done to their advantage during the calm. The weather changed when the Marquis De Mari was near land, and by consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard, with several frigates and other transport-vessels which made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while the English held on their way, filling their sails to gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the said Marquis De Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they attacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast, where they stood in against seven ships of the line, as long as the situation permitted; and being no longer able to resist, the Marquis De Mari saved his men, by running his ships a-ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy.

" Seventeen ships of the line, the remainder of the English squadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Isabella, St. Pedro, and the frigates St. Rosa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante, which continued making

and prejudices of those who drew them up; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported

towards Cape Passaro; and as they retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength, the English attacked those that composed the rear-guard, with four or five ships, and took them; and this happened successively to the others, which notwithstanding all the sail they made, could not avoid being beaten; insomuch, that every Spanish ship being attacked separately by five, six, or seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight, they made themselves masters at last of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturias, the St. Charles, the St. Isabella, St. Rosa, the Volante, and the Juno.

"While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the English, the rear-admiral of the squadron, Don Balthazar De Guevara, returned from Malta with two ships of the line, and turning his prow towards the St. Philip, passed by the English ships which were a-breast of him, firing upon each of them, and then attacked Admiral Byng's ships, which followed the St. Philip, and retired in the night, being very much damaged; for after the engagement, he stayed three or four days fifty leagues at sea, not only to repair the Spanish ships, which he had taken, and were all shattered to pieces; but also to make good the damages which himself had suffered; wherefore he could not enter Syracusa till the 16th or 17th of August, and that with a great deal of difficulty.

"The particulars of the action are, that the whole division of the English admiral, which consisted of seven ships of the line, and a fire-ship, having attacked the Royal St. Philip, at two in the afternoon the fight began, by a ship of seventy guns, and another of sixty, from which he received two broadsides; and advancing towards the Royal St. Philip, Don Antonio De Castaneta defended himself so well, that the said two ships retired, and two others; *viz.* one of eighty guns, and the other of seventy, renewed the attack. The said ship of eighty guns retired very much shattered, without making into the line; but others making towards the Spanish admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impossible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his rigging, without leaving him one entire sail, while two others, one of thirty, and the other of sixty guns, attacked the starboard of his ship, to oblige him to surrender; but he defending himself till the English admiral was resolved to board him, and carried a fire-ship to reduce him by the flames, which the Spanish commander prevented. But after having lost 200 men, and maintained the fight till towards night, Don Antonio De Castaneta received a shot which pierced his left leg, and wounded his right heel; nevertheless he continued to defend himself, till a cannon-bullet having cut a man in two, the

at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indif-

pieces of which fell upon him, and left him half dead, he was forced to surrender.

"The Prince of Asturias, commanded by Don Fernando Chacon, was at the same time attacked by three ships of equal force, against which he defended himself valiantly, avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded, and having lost most of his men, he was obliged to surrender his ship, which was all shot through and through, after having shot down the masts of an English ship that retired out of the fight.

"Captain Don Antonio Gonsales, commander of the frigate St. Rosa, defended himself above three hours against five English ships, who did not take him till after they had broke all his sails and masts.

"The Volante, commanded by Captain Don Antonio Escudero, knight of the order of Malta, fought three hours and a half against three English ships; and having lost his sails, he put up others that were in store, and was just going to board one of the three ships that attacked him; but his own being shot through and through by six cannon bullets, and the water coming in, he was obliged to surrender, because the ship's crew forced him.

"The Juno was engaged also by three English ships; yet maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till after most of her men were killed, and the ship just falling in pieces.

"Captain Don Gabriel Alderete, also defended the frigate called the Pearl, against three English ships for three hours; and after having shot down the masts of one, which immediately retired, he was relieved by Admiral Don Balthazar De Guevara, and had the good fortune to escape to Malta.

"Captain Don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of Malta, who was farthest advanced with the ship the Isabella, was pursued all that night by several English ships; and after having defended himself for four hours, he surrendered the next day.

"The frigate called the Surprise, which was of the Marquis De Mari's division, and by consequence farther advanced than the others, was attacked by three English ships, and maintained a fight for three hours, till the Captain, Don Michael De Sada, knight of the order of St. John, being wounded, most of her men killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to surrender.

"The other light ships and frigates of the Spanish squadron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta and Sardinia: as did also the Admiral Don Balthazar De Guevara, with his two ships St. Lewis, and St. John, after having been engaged with the English admiral, and having rescued the frigate called the Pearl.

ferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon. Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly; so that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of Rear-admiral Cammock, an Irish gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and

"It must not be forgotten that the marines in every ship signalized and distinguished themselves with a great deal of valour, they being composed of the nobility of Spain.

"The seven gallies which were under the command of Admiral Don Francisco De Grimao, having done all that was possible to join the Spanish ships, seeing that there was still a fresh gale of wind, retired to Palermo.

"Besides the above-mentioned ships, which the English took out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they also made themselves masters of the Royal, and of two frigates, St. Isidore, and the Eagle; those that were burnt by the order of the Marquis De Mari, are two bomb-gallies, a fireship, and the Esperanza frigate; so that the ships which escaped out of the battle are the following: St. Lewis, St. John, St. Ferdinand, and St. Peter; and the frigates Hermione, Pearl, Galera, Porcupine, Thoulouse, Lyon, Little St. John, the Arrow, Little St. Ferdinand, a bomb-galley, and a ship of Pintado.

"This is the account of the sea-fight which was at the height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of Malta, between the Spanish and English squadrons, the last of which, by ill faith, and the superiority of their strength, had the advantage to beat the Spanish ships singly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them.

"Immediately after the fight, a captain of the English squadron came, in the name of Admiral Byng, to make a compliment of excuse to the Marquis De Lede, giving him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it as such. To which it was answered, that Spain on the contrary will reckon it a formal rupture; and that they would do the English all the damages and hostilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with reprisals; and, in consequence of this, seve-

who was, to speak impartially, a much better seaman than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet,

ral Spanish vessels, and Guevara's squadron, have already taken some English ships."

We shall now, to render the subject as complete as possible, give,

A LIST OF THE SPANISH FLEET,

In the action off Cape Passaro, in the year 1718, under the command of Don Antonio De Castaneta, including two ships which were among those that Captain Walton destroyed, on the coast of Sicily.

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
St. Philip, the	Admiral Castaneta, taken	650	74
Prince of Asturias	Rear-admiral Chacon, taken	550	70
The Royal	Rear-admiral Mari, taken	400	60
St. Lewis	Rear-admiral Guevara, escaped	400	60
St. Ferdinand	Rear-admiral Cammock, escaped sunk afterwards at Messina Mole	400	60
St. Carlos	Prince De Chalay, taken	400	60
Sancta Isabella	Don Andrea Rezio, taken	400	60
Sancta Rosa	Don Antonio Gonsales, taken	400	60
St. John Baptist	Don Francisco Gerrera, escaped	400	60
St. Peter	Don Antonio Arrisago, escaped, afterwards lost in the Gulf of Tarento	400	60
Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete, escaped	300	50
———	———, burnt	300	50
St. Isidore	Don Manuel Villa Vicentia, taken	300	46
L'Esperanza	Don Juan Deltino and Barlandi, burnt	300	46
Volante	Don Antonio Escudera, taken	300	44
———	———, burnt	300	44
Harmonia	Don Rodrigo De Torres, escaped sunk afterwards in Messina Mole	300	44
Porcupine	A Frenchman, escaped	250	41
Surprize	Don Michael De Sada, knight of Malta, taken	250	36
Juno	Don Pedro Moyana, taken	250	36
La Galera	Don Francisco Alverera, escaped	200	30
La Castilla	Don Francisco Lenio, knight of Malta, escaped	200	30
Count De Thoulouse	Don Joseph Jocona, escaped, taken in Messina Mole	200	30
Tyger	Don —— Covaigne, taken	240	26
Eagle	Don Lucas Maspata, taken	240	24
St. Francis Areres	—— Jacob, a Scotsman, escaped	100	22
Little St. Ferdinand	———, escaped	150	20
Little St. John	Don Ignatio Valevale escaped, taken afterwards	150	20
Arrow	Don Juan Papajena, escaped	100	18
		8830	1284

He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the Spaniards but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable a-shore, and, farther out, the currents are so various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor, or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grapling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dearly.* The Spanish admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to England, who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thi-

* This was the sentiment of Admiral Byng, and therefore we may conclude, he who gave the advice was a good seaman.

ther the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand.* Mr. Byng met with a most gracious reception from his Majesty, who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negociate with the several princes and states of Italy as there should be occasion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and seamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards.†

* This circumstance, as well as the style of the following letter, will sufficiently demonstrate how welcome the news was to his Majesty, and how much he approved Sir George Byng's conduct, and the system on which it was founded.

"MONS. LE CHEV. BYNG,

"Quoy que je n'ay pas encore recu de vos novelles en droiture, j'ay appris la victoire que la flotte a remportée sous vos ordres, et je n'ay pas voulu vous differer le contentment que mon approbation de vôtre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous en remercie, et je souhaite que vous en temoigniez ma satisfaction a tous les braves gens, qui se sont distinguez dans cette occasion. Le secretaire d'etat Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes intentions, mais j'ay voulu vous assurer moy même que je suis, monsieur le Chevalier Byng,

"Votre bon amy,

"*Hampden Court*, "GEORGE R."

"*ce* 23 d'Aout, 1718.

In English thus:

"SIR GEORGE BYNG,

"Although I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command, and would not, therefore, defer giving you that satisfaction which must result from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my thanks, and desire you will testify my satisfaction to all the brave men who have distinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I was willing myself to assure you, that I am

"Your good friend,

"*Hampton-Court*, "GEORGE R."

"*Aug.* 23, 1718.

† The earl of Sunderland, then at the head of the British administration, had a very great opinion of Sir George Byng's ta-

The admiral in the mean time prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily, sailed afterward to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies under the command of the Marquis De Rivaroles, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by Rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November, and soon after received a gracious letter from the Emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand,* accompanied with

lents, and thought they qualified him equally for command at sea and for the functions of a minister on shore: a circumstance of which he very ably availed himself, without intending to create a precedent.

* Copy of the Emperor's Letter to the Admiral, written by his own hand.

"Monsieur Amiral et Chevalier Byng,

" J'ay recu avec beaucoup de satisfaction et de joy, par le porteur de celle cy la vôtre du 18me d'Aout. Quand de sceus que vous etiez nommé de sa Majestè le roy vôtre maitre pour commandez sa flotte dans la Mediterranèe, je conceus d'abord toutes les bonnes esperances. Le glorieux success pourtant les a en quelque maniere surpasse. Vous avez en cette occasion donne des preuves d'une valeur, conduite, et zele pour la commune cause tres singulier; la gloire que vous en resulte est bien grande, mais aussi en rien moindre ma reconnoissance, comme vous l'expliquera plus le Compte de Hamilton. Comptez toûjours sur la continuation de ma reconnoissance, et de mon affection, priant Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde.

" *A Vienne*, CHARLES."

" *ce 22me Octobre*, 1718.

" Admiral Sir George Byng,

" I have received with a great deal of joy and satisfaction, by the bearer of this, yours of the 18th of August. As soon as I knew you was named by the king your master to command his fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the greatest hopes imaginable from that very circumstance. The glorious success you have had surpasses, however, my expectations. You have given, upon this occasion, very singular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the common cause: the glory you obtain from thence is

a picture of his Imperial Majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the signal services rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to Port Mahon, where by some accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with most of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before set a-shore in Sicily, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he died soon after of his wounds

The Spanish court, excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of September Rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas.

A resolution having been taken, as before observed, to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and Rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten sail of the line of battle, left Sole-bay on the 1st of May, having eighteen merchant ships under their convoy, and on the 14th arrived safely at Copenhagen, where the same day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Danish Majesty, by whom he was very graciously received;

indeed great, and yet my gratitude falls nothing short thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulness and affection towards you: may God have you always in his holy keeping.

"*Vienna, Oct.* 22, "CHARLES."
"O. S. 1718.

and, soon after, he sailed, in conjunction with the Danish fleet, to the coast of Sweden, where the king found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by making a peace with the Czar, and in the mean time turning his arms against the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by General Arenfelt, and the other by himself in person.

He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of Frederickshall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north, and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris was returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he safely arrived in the latter end of the month of October.

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which in a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April, and after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded

soon after in forming a council, and settling the civil government of those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that Governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands found themselves obliged through interest to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the 1st of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed, and became thereby less terrible.

Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of Governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in some measure dissolved, who for many years had frighted the West Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at last to be so strong, that few merchantmen were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spanish Guarda Costas had been committed to the care of some man of like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the first things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits since the Revolution;

but others considered it in quite another light; and when an address was moved for to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay; the Lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the House of Peers; and by Mr. Shippen, Mr. Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, Esq. and Robert Walpole, Esq. in the House of Commons; but without effect. On the 19th of the same month the House of Commons voted thirteen thousand five hundred seamen for the service of the year 1719, at 4*l.* a month; and at the same time granted 187,638*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the sums given under the same head, it may not be amiss to observe, that, on the 19th of January, the House of Commons granted 25,000*l.* for the half pay of sea officers.

On the 17th of December, 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of Spain; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in the House of Commons, especially with regard to the pretensions, and the intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisted strongly, that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. It was urged by a great speaker, that the ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer of a secretary of state to the Marquis De Monteleon's letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and, that his Majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity. That nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. Another member went yet farther, and made use of his

favourite expression, insinuating, that this war seemed to be calculated for another meridian; but wrapped up the *inuendo* so dextrously, that no exception was taken to it. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of opposition, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her, and with this view she drew together a great number of transports at Cadiz and Corunna.

The late earl of Stair, who was then our minister at the court of France, dispatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain; which were, to have sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormonde, into the west of England; upon this, the most effectual methods were taken here for defeating that scheme. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormonde, with a promise of 5000*l.* to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was laid on all shipping. These precautions were attended with such success, and the fleet was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead to the westward, with nine men of war; and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley sailed from St. Helen's, with seven other men of war to join him, which he did the next day.

The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the Spaniards. The troops in the west of England, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were sent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Bristol, while at the same time the allies of his

Majesty were desired to get in readiness the succours, which by several treaties they stood engaged to furnish in case of a rebellion, or, if the British dominions should be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the service of the States-general, arrived in the river Thames; and about the same time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furnish, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spanish fleet designed for this expedition, consisting of five men of war, and about forty transports, having on board the late duke of Ormonde, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, met with a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them. Thus, this design of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loss they met with is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of Spain in a very shattered condition. A very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, mostly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred Scots, and had instructions to wait the duke of Ormonde's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole design being quashed by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenshiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards surrendered at discretion. They had met with a check before at Donan Castle, which was secured by his Majesty's ships, the Worcester, Enterprize, and Flamborough,

the Castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with France, that the regent declared war against his cousin the king of Spain; and though Marshal Villars, and some other officers of great rank, refused, from a point of honour, to lead an army against a grandson of France, yet Marshal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the Marquis De Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by Colonel Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington, he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than that which they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia, both which actions shewed that the French were actually in earnest.

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions which it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet, which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing

to the English admiral, as to the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare, and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the service of the emperor, cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the British naval history;* for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

There is, however, one circumstance that deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The Imperialists having taken the city of Messina, on the 8th of August, 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for the ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spanish men of war in the Mole, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port.

But, while all things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of course fall into their

* The reader may inform himself fully as to all these circumstances, by perusing the "Account of the Expedition to Sicily," which I have cited so often, and which is a very ample history of that memorable war, that embarrassed us so much while it continued; and which has been buried in obscurity ever since, except as to the promise it occasioned about Gibraltar; of which we shall hear more than once, before we conclude this volume; and perhaps we may, some time or other, find the history of that promise no unuseful piece of intelligence.

hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty, and the other of sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, "That as to the ships belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored him; but that this shall be referred to Admiral Byng to answer." To this the admiral replied, "That this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had been made in consequence thereof, in April 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the Marquis De Breille, minister of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships; and as for the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; that they had been taken by the enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expence, and under their colours; that they would put out to sea if he did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met with, and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not consider them in any other light than as they were the ships of an enemy." Count De Merci next put in his claim for the emperor, alleging, "That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, according to the right of nations they belonged to him." The admiral replied, "That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe those ships, that they were now confined within the port; which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them."*

* Sir George Byng understood the spirit of his instructions, and, without being inquisitive into the nature of our quarrel with Spain,

But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer; that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it should be at length determined that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he proposed to Count De Merci to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The admiral replied with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to an open misunderstanding, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Signior Scrampi, which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them, and thereby compleated the ruin of the naval power of Spain.

The imperial court had formed a design of making themselves masters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before observed, by the Spaniards; but our admiral judged it more for the service of the house of Austria, that this army should be immediately transported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, he went over to Naples, where, finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted to his Imperial Majesty the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the em-

resolved to use his best endeavours to put it out of the Spaniards' power to hurt us; and, in doing this, we shall see he could be peremptory, as well as complaisant, to our allies.

barkation of the troops, which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in spite of the delays effected by the then Count, afterwards Bashaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

After the citadel of Messina surrendered, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island, by which speedy and unexpected conveyance they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the Marquis De Lede, who commanded the Spanish forces in chief, proposed to evacuate the island, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In this Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral, and after having done so many services for the Imperialists, insisted on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It must, however, be considered, that, in the first place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, since the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our demands on the court of Spain were as much for the interest of the common cause as for our own; so that though the steadiness of Admiral Byng deserved commendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the German complaisance.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invasion, a secret design was formed for sending a fleet and army to the coasts of Spain, which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of September, 1719, Vice-admiral Mighels, with a strong squadron of his Majesty's ships under his command, and the transports,

having on board the forces commanded by the late Lord Viscount Cobham, consisting of about 6000 men, sailed from St. Helen's; and the first account we had of them is comprised in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and therefore I presume the reader will not be displeased to see it.

"His excellency the Lord-viscount Cobham, with the men of war commanded by Vice-admiral Mighels, and the transports having the forces on board, arriving on the coast of Gallicia, kept cruizing three days in the station appointed for Captain Johnson to join them; but having no news of him, and the danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with transports, rendering it necessary to take some measures of acting without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his lordship took the resolution of going thither.

"On the 29th of September, O. S. they entered the harbour of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately landed about three miles from the town, drew up on the beach; some peasants fired from the mountains at a great distance, but without any execution. His lordship went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regiments followed as fast as the boats could carry them. That night, and the following day and night, the troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while provisions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards were posted in several avenues to the distance of above a mile up the country.

"On the 1st of October his lordship moved, with the forces, nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post, with the left to the sea, near the village of Boas, and the right extended towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and some parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some apprehensions, that preparations were making to attack them; whereupon they set fire to the carriages of the cannon of the town, nailed those cannon,

and by all their motions seemed to be determined to abandon the town to the care of the magistrates and inhabitants, and to retire with the regular troops into the citadel; whereupon the Lord Cobham sent to summon the town to surrender, which the magistrates made no difficulty of doing; and the same night his lordship ordered Brigadier Honywood, with eight hundred men, to take post in the town, and Fort St. Sebastian, which the enemy had also abandoned.

"On the 3d a bomb-vessel began to bombard the citadel, but with little execution by reason of the great distance. That evening the large mortars and the cohorn-mortars were landed at the town; between forty and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a battery under cover of Fort St. Sebastian, began in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four days with great success. The fourth day his lordship ordered the battering cannon to be landed, and, with some others found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. Sebastian. At the same time his lordship sent the governor a summons to surrender, signifying, that, if he stayed till our battery of cannon was ready, he should have no quarter. Colonel Ligonier was sent with this message, but found that the governor Don Joseph De los Cereos had the day before been carried out of the castle wounded; the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded in his absence, desired leave and time to send to the Marquis De Risburg at Tuy for his directions; but, being told the hostilities should be continued if they did not send their capitulation without any delay, they soon complied."

The capitulation consisted of ten articles, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or provisions, were delivered up to his excellency the Lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the same month, in the morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of 469 men, having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is said, cost us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting in the whole to about 8000 muskets; all which stores and brass ordnance were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great Britain in the preceding spring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part also of those corps which were to have been employed in that expedition; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one was to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels.

Vigo being thus taken, the Lord Cobham ordered Major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, marched to Ponta-Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight-pounders, and four mortars, all brass, besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, some bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and Major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d.

The next day the Lord Cobham, finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked,

as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the 27th, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having lost in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted.

There is yet another expedition, of which we must take some notice before we shut up the transactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, since the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great design of sending this fleet was to protect these new friends against our old allies the Russians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleased on the receiving so seasonable a succour. In the beginning of September, Sir John Norris with his squadron joined the Swedish fleet, and on the 6th of the same month arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm where her Majesty's consort, the late king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ship. This junction of the English and Swedish fleets broke all the measures of the Czar Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swedish coast in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel.*

The Lord Carteret, afterwards earl of Granville, was then ambassador at Stockholm, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured assiduously to bring the conferences at the island of Ahland to a happy conclusion; but the Czar not being at that time disposed to think of pacific measures, they could not prevail; so that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet conti-

* The Czar had more than one English admiral in his service, and they honestly represented the risk he ran of seeing the naval force, which was the creature of his own brain, and which he nursed with so much care, strangled, as soon as brought forth, by an unequal contest with a British fleet, which he might avoid without any dishonour.

nued near Stockholm; but the winter season coming on, and there being no reason to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Britannic Majesty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly sailed from Elsenap on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and safely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Danish Majesty with all imaginable marks of distinction and esteem. It must indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the ministry might have at home, he consulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preserving the balance of power in the north, rendered the highest service to his country. On the 12th of the same month the fleet sailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful storm, which damaged several ships, but destroyed none. Towards the close of the month they arrived safe, and on the last day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finished with much expedition, an enterprise which, in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation, in a bloody war; but by his steady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north.

His Majesty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themselves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free

us, and the rest of Europe, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

It is not, strictly speaking, my business, and to say the truth, the compass of this work will not allow me to enlarge much upon it, if an inquiry into the politics of those times was more so than it is; but thus much I think is to be said, in justice to Sir George Byng; that the question does not at all respect his behaviour, since the merit of an officer consists in executing his orders, for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of those orders. If this be not allowed, we must never hope to be well served at sea, since the admiral who takes upon himself to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his management, be it what it will; and if this proposition be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty, as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was subdued, and his Catholic Majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed to him by the quadruple alliance. He it was who first enabled the Germans to set foot in that island; by him they were supported in all they did; and by his councils they were directed, or they had otherwise been again expelled the island, even after the taking of Messina. As warm debates were there about our proceedings in the Baltic, which, whether they were right or wrong, ought not to affect the character of the admiral, who punctually executed his instructions, and performed all that was, or could be, expected from him; neither was this denied by such as opposed the ministry, and whose sentiments were at this time over-ruled in parliament.

On the 2d of December, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. Thirteen thousand five hundred men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of 4*l.* *per* month as usual, granted for that purpose; 217,918*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* was given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723*l.* for the extraor-

dinary repairs. Soon after, a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and, after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for 377,561*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* in discharge of those expences. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance; and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of Sardinia; and thus the house of Austria got possession of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the British fleet. But, what return the Imperial Court made Great Britain for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger dispatched by the then Lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his Majesty and the crown of Sweden.

The Czar of Muscovy remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into those seas. The design of this was, to secure the Swedes from feeling the Czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the Swedes had made some great alterations in their government, not only by asserting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Hesse, consort to the queen their sovereign, for their king, on her motion and request; notwithstanding the claim of the duke of Holstein, her sister's son, to the succession. This young prince, the Czar, was pleased

to take under his protection, and proposed to the Swedes, that if they would settle the crown upon him, his Czarish Majesty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in case this was refused, he threatened to pursue the war more vigorously than ever; and for that purpose began to make very great naval preparations.

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the British fleet, on the 16th of April, sailed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coast of Sweden, by a squadron of ships belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the same month, being near the coast of Ahland, they were joined by seven Swedish men of war more, under the command of Admiral Wachmeister; the 26th it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed towards the coast of Revel; which saved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the Czar's displeasure. In the mean time, our minister at the court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, Lord Carteret, who was our minister at Stockholm, negociated, and brought to a happy conclusion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to Copenhagen to present it to his Danish Majesty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June, 1720, for that purpose.

His lordship continued for some time after at the Danish court, where he was treated with unusual marks of esteem and respect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wisest crowned heads in Europe, and who, as a signal testimony of his favour to that accomplished statesman, took a sword from his side, richly set with diamonds, to the value of five thousand pounds, of which he made a present to his lordship.

The season for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, sailed with the squadron

under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his ship, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the British envoy, and the Polish minister Prince Lubomirski, and other persons of distinction; and his excellency soon after returned with the squadron under his command to England. The Czar bore this interposition of ours very impatiently, and his ministers did not fail to impute it wholly to the interest which his Majesty, as a German prince, had to compromise affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquisition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his Majesty, as elector of Hanover, might draw from the protection afforded to Sweden by the British fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the British interest; and we had often interposed in the very same manner under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depends almost all the other branches of our trade. The insinuations, therefore, of the Czar, had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Prussia and Denmark, both making separate treaties with Sweden, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his Czarish Majesty to prevent it. Neither is it at all impossible, that the very dread of that exorbitant power, to which that ambitious monarch aspired, might contribute as much to their taking that resolution, as any other motive whatever.

His Majesty having spent the summer in his German dominions, returned to Great Britain in the month of November; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that august assembly; in which it was insisted upon, that the money

issued for the sea-service had produced all the desired effects; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, so it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions, a considerable naval force was asked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet, in the end, the point was carried; and, on the 19th of December, the House of Commons resolved, that ten thousand men be allowed for the sea-service, for the year 1721, at 4*l.* a man *per* month, for thirteen months: that 219,049*l.* 14*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,200*l.* for extra repairs for the same year. This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris and Rear-admiral Hopson, with a squadron of thirteen men of war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches into the Baltic, to put an end to these disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be soon settled any other way.

The Czar having still in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at sea with a large fleet, and, designing to strike a terror into the whole Swedish nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarcely ever heard of amongst the most barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their spirits, and, depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations, which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of the month of April, Sir John Norris sailed from the Nore, and towards the latter end of the same month arrived at Copenhagen, where he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem; soon after, he continued his voyage for the coast of Sweden, where he was joined

by a few Swedish ships. His appearance in those seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences than were expected from it; for the Czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of Spain, began to be more inclinable to a peace; which was concluded at Neistadt, upon the 31st of August.

This treaty having settled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the Swedes various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms, as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied, in some measure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time, with his fleet, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negociations of Mr. Finch; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October; and on the 6th of the same month, returning home, arrived safely at the Nore on the 20th, leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of Great Britain, in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus, not without much difficulty, reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasiness which had been occasioned by the execution of the South-sea scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of Admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his Majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the Right Honourable James, earl of Berkley,

Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq. commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c. This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better settled than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age; and the other three as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the same month, the House of Commons granted 7000 men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a man *per* month; and, on the 2d of November, they resolved, that the sum of 218,799*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the situation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little disordered by the large disbursements into which we had been drawn for many years past. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new squadron was ordered to be got ready, consisting of thirteen large ships, which squadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager and Rear-admiral Hosier. The destination of this armament was never certainly known; but the most probable account that has been given is, that it was intended to chastise the Portuguese, for an insult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Lisbon, whose goods they seized, imprisoned their persons, and even went so far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence.

The case was this: There is a law in Portugal, which forbids the exportation of any coin whatsoever out of that kingdom, upon pain of death; but it was

a law never insisted upon, and, therefore, thought to be obsolete, and, by custom, in a manner repealed; which construction was justified by the transporting gold coin from Lisbon to other countries almost every day, and in such a manner as the court could not be ignorant of it. What induced the Portuguese ministry to venture upon such an ill-timed severity, is not well known; but the vigorous measures taken by our court were certainly the properest methods that could be taken, to hinder their proceeding to execution. At the same time, our minister stated the case of those gentlemen in the fairest and fullest light, observing to the king of Portugal, that of all nations in Europe, the English least deserved to be thus used, because they took the largest quantity of the manufactures of Portugal, in exchange for their own, of which last the Portuguese, also, exported a great deal. That the balance of trade in our favour, had been, and must be, always discharged in gold, and that, consequently, these severe proceedings, if not remitted, must not only produce an immediate rupture between the two nations, but also hinder all commerce between them for the future. By degrees, these representations were attended to, the merchants released, their goods restored, and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. Upon this, our naval armament was laid aside, and the mutual interest of the two nations, after this explanation, being better understood, the harmony between them was effectually restored, and this unlucky interruption of it buried on both sides in oblivion.

We may, from this instance, discern, how dangerous a thing it is, in any state, to suffer these sleeping laws to remain virtually, and yet not actually repealed, since, in certain conjunctures, there never will be wanting a sort of enterprising men, who will endeavour to take advantage of such penal statutes, disguising their private views under a specious pretence of pursuing the public good. As, on the other hand,

we cannot avoid observing, that the best way to secure justice to our subjects abroad is, always to keep up a considerable maritime force at home, that it may be known to all nations, with whom we have any dealings, that we are always in a situation to exact a speedy and ample satisfaction for any insults that are offered to our merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ, in favour of our commerce, that power which is the result of it: which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extensive trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not suffer our neighbours to interfere therein to our prejudice, by not applying timely and effectual remedies upon their first invasions. But to return from these salutary cautions, to the thread of our narration.

The pirates in the West Indies, which had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of Governor Rogers, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew so bold, as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to several causes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a sufficient force in the North American seas. The merchants, finding themselves extremely distressed by a grievance that encreased every day, made repeated representations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, fresh orders were sent to the officers of the navy, cruising on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies, to exert themselves, with the utmost diligence, in crushing these enemies to mankind; and these injunctions had at length the desired effect. There was among these pirates, on the coast of Africa, one Roberts, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, one commanded by himself, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to com-

plete his squadron, he soon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, before he sailed for Africa, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then Captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner, Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the Swallow, and was cruising off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in consequence of this he went immediately in search of him, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the heel scrubbing. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a distance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his consort Skyrm to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadside, by which their captain was killed; which so discouraged the crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoisting the king's colours under the pirates' black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance; for Captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmost bravery for nearly two hours, yet, being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded. Captain Ogle carried these three prizes, with about one hundred and sixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coast Castle, where they were instantly brought to their trials.

Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains in several places, which struck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking several pirates in the West Indies, towards the latter end of the year, did in those seas. But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief; so that it was found necessary, soon after, to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

As this year was very barren in naval transactions, I think I am at liberty to take notice of an event that otherwise might seem of too little importance to be recorded. The case was this: The government had intelligence, that the emissaries of the Pretender were very busy in carrying on their intrigues at several foreign courts, and that, for the greater expedition and security, they had fitted out a ship called the Resolution, which then lay in the mole of Genoa. It was in the midst of autumn when this intelligence was received; upon which orders were immediately dispatched to the captains of such of our men of war, as were cruising in the Mediterranean, to seize and possess themselves of this vessel, which they accordingly did in the beginning of the month of November. But it so happened, that most of her officers were at this juncture on shore, which obliged Mr. Davenant, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary to that republic, to demand them of the senate and state of Genoa; but the senate were either so unwilling, or so dilatory in this affair, that the persons concerned had an opportunity, which they did not miss, of making their escape; and though they were a little unlucky in losing their ship, which was a pretty good one, yet they were very fortunate in saving themselves, since, if they had been taken, they would have been treated as rebels, or perhaps considered as pirates, as some people were in King William's time, who acted under a commission from King James II.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the House of Commons, on the 24th of the same month, granted 10,000 men for the sea-service, at four pounds *per* man *per* month, for the year 1723: and, on the 29th, they resolved, that 216,388*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the same year; and soon after, the king was pleased to promote Sir George Walton, Knt. to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of Admiral Mighels, who was appointed to succeed Thomas Swanton, Esq. lately deceased, as comptroller of the navy; and Admiral Littleton dying the 5th of February, Rear-admiral Strickland succeeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their seniority.

The naval transactions of this year were, as I have already hinted, very inconsiderable; for though some great ships were put into commission, and there was once a design of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very soon after laid aside. But that we may not seem to pass by any thing that has the smallest relation to the subject of this work, we shall take notice of an account received about this time, of an extraordinary hurricane* at Jamaica, said to be the most remarkable that ever happened in that island: which account, as it is in itself equally curious and remarkable, so it is the more valuable, because not to be met with elsewhere.†

* Hurricane, which the French write Ouragan, is a word, in the language of the Caribbee Indians, expressing a violent tempest, in which the wind veers from one point of the compass to another. It is preceded first by a dead calm, the sun or moon very red, then a strong west wind. When this shifts to the north, the hurricane begins, continues shifting westward, till it come to south-east, and there stops. The bounds of these dreadful storms are from July 25, to September 8, O. S. but in general August is looked on, in America, as the hurricane month.

† TO SIR H. S. BART.

Dated at Port-Royal in Jamaica, Nov. 13, 1722.

Since my last to you, the affairs of the island are altered infinitely for the worse. This change has been made by a most terri-

There remains but one thing more to be mentioned within the compass of this year, and that is, the perplexed situation of affairs on the continent, making it

ble storm, that happened the 28th of August last; the damage which Jamaica has suffered by it is too great to be easily repaired again. Abundance of people have lost their lives by it, in one part or other of this island: some of them were dashed in pieces by the sudden fall of their houses, but the much greater part were swept away by a terrible inundation of the sea, which being raised by the violence of the wind, to a much greater height than was ever known before, in many parts of the island broke over its ancient bounds, and of a sudden overflowed a large tract of land, carrying away with an irresistible force, men, cattle, houses, and, in short, every thing that stood in its way.

"In this last calamity, the unfortunate town of Port Royal, has had, at least, its full share. And here, I confess myself at a loss for words to give a just description of the horror of that scene that we the afflicted inhabitants saw before our eyes. When the terror of the sea broke in upon us from all quarters with an impetuous force, conspired with the violence of the wind to cut off all hopes of safety from us, and we had no other choice before us, but that dismal one of perishing in the waters, if we fled out of our houses, or of being buried under the ruins if we continued in them. In this fearful suspense we were held for several hours, for the violence of the storm began about eight in the morning, and did not sensibly abate till between twelve and one, within which space of time the wind and sea together demolished a considerable part of the town, laid the churches even with the ground, destroyed above one hundred and twenty white inhabitants, and one hundred and fifty slaves, besides ruining almost all the storehouses in the town, together with all the goods that were in them, which amounted to a considerable value.

"We had, at Port Royal, two very formidable enemies to encounter at the same time, *viz.* the wind and the sea; the situation of the place, it being at all times surrounded with the sea, rendering it more exposed than other places, to the fury of that boisterous element; our defence against the sea, consists in a great wall, round all along on the eastern shore of the town, the side upon which we apprehend most danger. This wall is raised about nine feet above the surface of the water, and may be about six or seven feet broad. And for these twenty years past, for so long the wall has been built, it has proved a sufficient security to the town. But, in this fatal storm, the sea scorned to be restrained by so mean a bulwark; for the wind having, as I observed before, raised it very much above its ordinary height; it broke over the wall with such a force, as nothing was able to withstand. Two or three rows of houses that were next to the wall, and ran parallel with it, were entirely

necessary for his Majesty to visit his German dominions, he embarked on board the Carolina yacht on the

taken away, among which was the church, a handsome building, and very strong, which was so perfectly demolished, that scarcely one brick was left upon another.

" A considerable part of the wall of the castle was thrown down, notwithstanding its being of a prodigious thickness, and founded altogether upon a rock, and the whole fort was in the utmost danger of being lost, the sea breaking quite over the walls of it, though they are reckoned to stand thirty feet above the water. This information I had from the captain of the fort, and other officers, that were in it during the storm, who all told me, that they expected every minute to have the fort washed away, and gave up themselves and the whole garrison for lost. In the highest streets in the town, and those that are most remote from the sea, the water rose to between five and six feet; and at the same time the current was so rapid, that it was scarcely possible for the strongest person to keep his legs, or to prevent himself from being carried away by it. In these circumstances, we were obliged to betake ourselves to our chambers and upper rooms; where yet we ran the utmost hazard of perishing by the fall of our houses, which trembled and shook over our heads to a degree that is scarcely credible. The roofs were, for the most part, carried off by the violence of the wind, and particularly in the house to which mine, and several other families had betaken ourselves, the gable end was beaten in with such a force, that a large parcel of bricks fell through the garret floor into the chamber where we were, and had they fallen upon any of us, must infallibly have beaten out our brains; but God was pleased to order it so, that not a soul received any hurt.

" There was, the morning on which the storm happened, a good fleet of ships riding in the harbour of Port Royal, most of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have proceeded home in a few days, had they not been prevented by this terrible storm, which left but one vessel in the harbour, besides four sail of men of war, all which had their masts and rigging blown away, and the ships themselves, though in as secure a harbour as any in the whole West Indies, were as near to destruction as it was possible to be, and escape it. But the most sensible proof of the unaccountable force of the wind and sea together, was, the vast quantity of stones that were thrown over the town wall; which, as I observed before, stands nine feet above the surface of the water, and yet such a prodigious number were forced over it, that almost an hundred negroes were employed for nearly six weeks together to throw them back again into the sea: and some of those stones were so vastly big, that it was as much as nine or ten men could do to heave them back again over the wall.

3d of June, arrived safely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he

"I am sensible this part of the relation will seem a little strange; but yet I doubt not of obtaining your belief, when I affirm it to you of my own knowledge for a certain truth.

"But Port Royal was not the only place that suffered in the storm; at Kingston, also, great damage was done; abundance of houses were blown quite down, and many more were so miserably broken and shattered, as to be little better than none: abundance of rich goods were spoiled by the rain, the warehouses being either blown down or uncovered. But they had only one enemy to encounter, *viz.* the wind, and were not prevented by the sea from forsaking their falling houses, and betaking themselves to the savannahs or open fields, where they were obliged to throw themselves all along upon the ground, to prevent their being blown away; and yet, even in Kingston, some persons were killed, amongst whom was a very worthy gentlewoman, the wife of the Reverend Mr. May, minister of the town, and the bishop of London's commissary; she was killed by the fall of their house, as she lay with her husband under a large table, who had also the misfortune of having his own leg broke. All the vessels that rode in the harbour of Kingston, which were between forty and fifty sail, were either driven on shore or overset and sunk. Abundance of the men and goods were lost, and one could not forbear being surprised, to see large ships with all their heavy lading in them, thrown quite up upon the dry land; and nothing could afford a more dismal prospect than the harbour did the next day, which was covered with nothing but wrecks and dead bodies.

"At Spanish Town nobody indeed was killed, but a great many had very narrow escapes, some families having scarcely quitted their houses before they fell down flat at once, without giving any warning. The king's house stands, indeed, but it is all uncovered, and the stables, coach houses, &c. are quite demolished. The river, near to which the town is situated, swelled to such a degree as was never before known; and I was assured by the minister of the place, Mr. Scott, it rose full forty feet perpendicular above the ordinary mark, and did incredible damage to the estates that lay bordering upon it. From the other parts of the country we had very melancholy accounts of the great losses they had sustained, and particularly at Old Harbour, a village built at a little distance from that shore; the sea made such haste to devour, as most unexpectedly to intercept many poor creatures before they had time to make their escape, and almost forty poor souls perished altogether in one house; and while they only sought security from the wind, exposed themselves to be destroyed by the sea, from whence, when they first fled, they apprehended no danger. In Clarendon and Vere parishes great mischief was done: in the latter, the minister,

remained during the rest of the year 1723; at the close of which, Sir John Norris, with a small squadron of men of war was sent to escort him from Holland; and he returned safely to St. James's on the 30th of December.

The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of January; and care was taken in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner as that his Majesty might assure both houses, in his speech from the throne, that, through his assiduous application to business while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition towards us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehensions on account of their armaments or intrigues.

In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725. It is sufficiently known to every body, that this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which, at least it was so suggested, there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the succession of the royal

Mr. White, had his leg broken by the fall of the house where he was, not to mention several persons that were killed outright.

"But I should quite tire out your patience, should I undertake to give you a particular account of the damages that were done by the storm in all parts of the island. It shall therefore suffice to say, that the damage which the trading part of the island has sustained, by the loss of their shipping and goods, is not to be valued; and, on the other hand, it is impossible to say how deeply the planting interest has shared in this common calamity, by the loss of dwelling houses and sugar works, and many other ways. And, in short, had the fury of the storm lasted much longer, the whole island must have been one general wreck, and nothing but final and universal ruin could have ensued."

family; but this, however, the late emperor, Charles VI. absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was, to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem; however, there was no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great Britain from being imported into the island of Sicily, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expence to ourselves, put him in possession.

The year 1726 opened very inauspiciously: his Majesty embarked on board the Carolina yacht, at Helvoetsluys, about one in the afternoon, on new year's day, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by Captain Dansie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The third, in the morning, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with some of his Majesty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more advisable that his Majesty should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th, in the evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable speech from the throne, in which he took notice of the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and of the measures he had taken for supporting the honour of his crown, and preserving the just rights of his people. When this speech came to be debated in the House of Commons, very warm things were said by those who were then

in the opposition, against the plan of the Hanover alliance, which, though it was also disliked by many of the ministers here at home, yet was strenuously supported by others, and even by them, in that debate.

It has been generally said, and, I believe, with truth, that the secretary of state, then abroad with his Majesty, was the sole, or at least, the principal adviser in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a scheme for humbling the house of Austria, which we had so long, and even so lately, supported, and in the support of which, we have been since also engaged at an expence, that might certainly have been spared, if this scheme had not taken place; such fluctuations there are in modern policy, and so dearly do whole nations pay for the intrigues, caprices, and errors, of particular men! But to proceed.

On the 26th of January, the House of Commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the sea-service, for the year 1726, at 4*l.* a man *p. r* month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they resolved, that 212,381*l.* 5*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. But this provision, as the affairs of Europe then stood, being not thought sufficient, his Majesty held it requisite, on the 24th of March, to send a message to the House of Commons, importing, that he found it absolutely necessary to augment his maritime force, and hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this message there was a very warm debate, which issued in an address from

the house to his Majesty, desiring, "That he would be pleased to make such an addition to the number of seamen already voted, and to concert such other measures as he in his great wisdom should think most conducive to the security of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe, assuring his Majesty that they would effectually provide for, and make good, all such expences and engagements as should be entered into for obtaining those great and desirable ends.

The administration had all things now in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit; but, before we proceed to what they did, it will be reasonable to take a view of what was then looked upon as the scheme of our enemies. This I think the more reasonable, because hitherto it has never been done, at least in a clear, intelligible way, so that a reader of common capacity might understand it. As soon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction utterly disappointed by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately resolved to have recourse to farther negociations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and, when they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they designed to have resorted to open force.

With a view to render this scheme effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the north, in which he met at first with some extraordinary success. The Czarina Catharine, dowager of the Czar Peter the Great, had conceived a distaste to the British court, and had, by some people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to overturn the government in Britain. The same scheme had been proposed and countenanced at the Imperial court by some of the ministers, as the empress-dowager informed the king; and, on the credit of that information, his Majesty mentioned it in his speech. The Spanish court readily adopted that or

any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquisitions in Italy, then and long after the great objects of their policy.

Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger, and, perhaps, the same cause will hardly ever fail to produce the same effects; whence it is evident, that, the less share we take in the affairs of the continent, the less the present royal family will be exposed to such attempts; and, therefore, a wise ministry will be sure to inform their master, that pursuing the real and acknowledged interests of Great Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France, and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him enemies, disturb the peace of Germany, and affect the balance of Europe.

I have already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themselves as obliged to support it; and, therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they set about disappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the French, or to the slow assistance of the Dutch, but chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves, with which view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic, to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was likewise thought requisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain to intimidate his Catholic Majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the

shortest means of dissolving the union between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties; being satisfied, that, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command, consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital-ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander in chief, he on the 13th of April, 1726, hoisted his flag on board the Torbay, a third-rate man of war, at the Nore. He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, at her mizen-top-mast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen. The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line of battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the Dablen, near Stockholm, with sailing instructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the Nore. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and, on the 25th, Sir Charles presented his Majesty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-council, dined with his Danish Majesty the same day, and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

The very next day, Stephen Pointz, Esq. his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackson, his Majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th,

had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his master to his Swedish Majesty, by whom he was very graciously received. The 14th of the same month, the squadron of Danish men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager sailed with his squadron to the island of Narignan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, Captain Deane, who had been on board the Port Mahon, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the Torbay, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Petersburgh, whose master informed him, that there were sixteen Russian men of war in the road at Cronslot, with three flags flying; *viz.* Lord-admiral Apraxin, Vice-admiral Gordon, and Rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readiness, of which but twelve were at Cronslot, and the rest at Petersburgh, or Wyburgh.

The admiral took the first opportunity of sending his Majesty's letter to the Czarina, inclosed in a letter to her Admiral Apraxin, in which letter his Majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the Pretender. It is said, that the Russian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But Vice-admiral Gordon very wisely represented to the council, that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain; upon which, orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it and the gallies from being insulted. In the month of July, Prince Menzikoff, who was then

prime minister, coming to Revel, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highness, to shew his regard to the English officers, frequently invited them to his own table.

The British fleet, while in this station, was joined by a Danish squadron, commanded by Rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Gun-fleet on the 1st of November. It must be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English admiral; so that this expedition effectually answered its end, which ought to be considered as an honour to his memory, whether that end shall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political dispute, which neither can, nor ought, to affect the character of the admiral in the least.

The fleet that was sent to the coast of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and consisted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by several ships that were cruizing there. The admiral sailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of August, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards excessively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coast. When the fleet first entered the bay, some pieces of cannon were fired at the foremost ships; but the governor of St. Antonio presently sent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuse it, and to assure him it was an act of indiscretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the same month, the fleet arrived at Lisbon, and was received there with all possible marks of respect; and Sir John Jennings having received a message from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad

to see him, the admiral landed, paid his compliments to his Majesty, and then returning on board his squadron, sailed from the river of Lisbon for the Bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, where he was treated with great distinction, and had all the refreshments he desired, sent him, by order of the Spanish governor.

He cruized for some time after off Cape St. Mary's, in order to wait for the ships that were to join him. On the 7th of the same month, Rear-admiral Hopson, with four British men of war, came into the river of Lisbon, and one of the ships having lost her main-yard, and another having her fore-mast damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our minister, Brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portuguese Majesty, for furnishing every thing that was necessary out of his naval stores. The 9th, his Majesty's ships the Winchelsea and Swallow, which sailed some time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needless for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this squadron, which soon after returned to Spithead. It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it; alarmed the Spanish court to the highest degree, obliged it to abandon the measures then taking to the prejudice of Great Britain, and gave such spirits to the party in Spain which opposed those dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all opposition. The Duke De Ripperda, who had been lately prime minister, the very man who had negociated the treaty of Vienna, by whose intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took shelter, at the time of his disgrace, in the house of the earl of Harrington, then Colonel Stanhope, and our minister at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast, prevailed upon the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against

him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the British ministry those very designs that occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Segovia, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his Catholic Majesty. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir John Jennings on the coast of Spain: let us proceed to the transactions in the West Indies.

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the Spanish West Indies, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or a bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent them from receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to Francis Hosier, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were, I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design, by an advice-boat from Cadiz, so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other side the Isthmus. On the 6th of June, Vice-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor sent to know his demands. The vice-admiral answered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South Sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hast-

ened her away; which, I think, was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect to the blocking up of the galleons, that was so much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks was time sufficient to put it out of their power to return for that season; and, therefore, his continuing there six months, as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, became the jest of the Spaniards, was altogether needless. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation.

It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the Island of Jamaica, a great number of seamen out of employment; so that in two months time his squadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to sea, which he did, and stood over to Carthagena, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the Prince Frederic, a South-Sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which Admiral Hosier did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruising in those seas, and some of his ships took several Spanish prizes, most of which were afterwards restored; and in this situation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his last, on the 23d of August, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in

those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceeded in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortress of Gibraltar; and towards the close of the year 1726, their army, under the Count De Las Torres, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, ordered a small squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoisted his flag on board the Kent, as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join Rear-admiral Hopson, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually in the succeeding year.

The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the same month the House of Commons came to a resolution, that twenty thousand men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a month *per* man; and on the 1st of the next month, they voted 199,071*l.* for the ordinary of the navy. The first use made of these extraordinary supplies was, to send once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was said, the Czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of April, Captain Maurice, commander of the Nassau, was appointed rear-admiral of the white squadron, and Captain Robert Hughes, commander of the Hampton-Court, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his Majesty's fleet; and Captain Rogers was appointed to command the Nassau in the room of Admiral Maurice. They were all three to serve under Sir John Norris, who sailed the latter end of that month, and arrived

on the coast of Jutland the 8th of May, anchored in sight of Elsineur the 11th; and the next day in the road of Copenhagen; the king of Denmark being at his palace at Fredericksburgh, Sir John, with the Lord Glenorchy, his Majesty's minister at that court, waited on his Danish Majesty, and was extremely well received. But while he was employed in this expedition, that event fell out, which puts a period to the present chapter.

This event was, the death of King George I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Osnaburgh, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the sixty-eighth of his life. To speak without flattery, his Majesty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs, with respect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his accession to the British throne, his ministers were intirely accountable for it; for he constantly declared to them, that his intention was, to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his amusements he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were rendered him; firm in his friendships, naturally averse to violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

MEMOIRS OF

GEORGE BYNG, LORD TORRINGTON,

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE, &c.

George Byng, Lord Viscount Torrington, rear-admiral of Great Britain, was descended from an ancient family in the county of Kent, and was born in the year 1663. At the age of fifteen, he went to sea, a voluntcer, with the king's warrant, which was given him at the recommendation of the duke of York. In 1681, he quitted the sea service, upon the invitation of General Kirk, governor of Tangiers, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison; but a vacancy soon happening, the general made him ensign of his own company, and, not long after, a lieutenant. In 1684, after the demolition of Tangiers, he was appointed lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he continued in the sea service. The next year he went a lieutenant of the Phœnix, to the East Indies, where he engaged and boarded a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a most desperate fight, insomuch that most of those who entered with him were slain, and he himself was severely wounded; and the pirate sinking, he was taken out of the sea, with hardly any remains of life. In the memorable year 1688, Mr. Byng being first lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, was particularly entrusted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on among the most considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince, and was the person they chose to send with their secret assurances of obedience to his highness; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherborne, by Admiral Russel, afterwards earl of Orford.

Upon his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth sent him, with two captains, to carry a message of submission to the prince, at Windsor, and made him captain of a fourth rate man of war. In 1690, he was advanced to the command of the Hope, a third rate, and was second to Sir George Rooke in the battle off Beachy Head. After this he was captain of the Royal Oak, and served under Admiral Russel, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet. In 1693, that great officer distinguished him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain; in which station he served two years in the Mediterranean. Upon the breaking out of the war in the year 1702, he accepted the command of the Nassau, a third rate, and was at the taking and burning of the French fleet at Vigo. In the following year he was made rear-admiral of the red, and served in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel in the Mediterranean; under which great admiral he served again, in 1704, in the grand fleet that was sent into the same sea in search of the French; and it was he who commanded the squadron that cannonaded Gibraltar with such vigour and effect, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts, and thereby enabled the seamen, who were immediately landed, to make themselves masters of their fortifications; by which exploit the garrison was reduced to a capitulation, and the place taken. The success of this undertaking was entirely owing to the cannonading, which drove the Spaniards from their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. In the battle of Malaga, which followed soon after, he acquitted himself so well, that Queen Anne conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. Towards the latter end of this year, Sir George Byng commanded a squadron in the Soundings, and was so successful, as to take twelve of the largest of those

French privateers which had so much annoyed our trade, together with the Thetis, a French man of war, of 44 guns, and also seven French merchant ships, most of which were richly laden from the West Indies. The number of men taken on board was 2070, and of guns 334. This remarkable success gave such a blow to the French privateers, that it was some time before they dared venture again into the Channel.

In the year 1705, Sir George Byng was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned for Plymouth; which place he represented in every succeeding parliament, till the year 1721, when he was created a peer. In the following year, his assistance was extremely useful to Sir John Leake, in relieving Barcelona; and he greatly furthered the other enterprises of that campaign, and particularly the reducing of Carthagena and Alicant. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Spain, for the relief of the army, which was in want of almost every necessary. He accordingly sailed on the 30th of March; but when he arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he received the news of our defeat at the battle of Almanza; and soon after a message was brought to him from Lord Galway, acquainting him with the distress he was in, and desiring, that whatever he had brought for the use of the army, might be carried to Tortosa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordship designed to retreat; at the same time informing him, that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended that every thing which could be got together, should be put on board. The admiral having performed this service, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel from Lisbon, proceeded with him to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty transports, to second Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon. In their return home from this

expedition, Sir George narrowly escaped shipwreck, when Sir Cloudesley Shovel was lost; for the Royal Anne, in which he bore his flag, was within a ship's length of the rocks, upon which the other great admiral struck; yet he was fortunately saved by his own presence of mind, and that of his officers and men, who in a minute's time set the ship's top-sails, even when one of the rocks was almost under her main chains. In the year 1708, Sir George was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the squadron that was fitted out to oppose the invasion designed against Scotland by the Pretender, with a French army from Dunkirk. This squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war; with which Sir George Byng and Lord Dursley sailed from Deal for the French coast; and having anchored in Gravelin Pits, Sir George went into a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish Road, and there learned the strength and number of the enemy's ships. On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it; and accordingly, on the 6th of March, they sailed out of Dunkirk. Sir George, at this time, had been obliged, for security, to go to an anchor under Dungeness; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French were sailed, but could get no account of the place of their destination. He was, however, inclined to believe that they were designed for Scotland; whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue them to the road of Edinburgh. On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Firth of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a north-east course, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrew's. Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury, a ship of fifty guns, formerly taken from us; on board of which were several persons of quality, many land and sea officers of great distinction, and five companies of the

regiment of Bearn. After this, Sir George finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of the French admiral's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to his orders. But before he left Leith road, the lord provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew their grateful sense of the important service he had done them, by thus drawing off the enemy before they had time to land their forces, presented him with the freedom of their city in a gold box. Upon his arrival in London, Sir George was most graciously received by the queen, and by his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral. One would have thought that the defeating of so extraordinary a scheme as this invasion was allowed to be, and the immediate restoring of public credit, which had suffered greatly, should have given entire satisfaction to the nation; but this was so far from being the case, that the admiral had scarcely set his foot in London, before it was whispered, that the parliament would inquire into his conduct. This rumour took its rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship of them, as well as the Salisbury; and the persons who first propagated this story, thought fit to add, that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet by his ships being foul. This insinuation actually produced an inquiry in the House of Commons, and an address to the queen, desiring her Majesty to direct, that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned. Their request being granted, the inquiry ended in a resolution, that the thanks of the house should be given to the prince, as lord high-admiral, for his great care, in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George

Byng was enabled, so happily, to prevent the intended invasion. This was a very wise and well-concerted measure; since it fully satisfied the world of the falsehood of these reports, and, at the same time, gave great satisfaction to the queen, and to her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who had both testified an unusual concern upon the occasion, as they thought his royal highness's character, as lord high-admiral, was affected by such suspicions and insinuations. This same year, Sir George had the honour of conducting the queen of Portugal to Lisbon: for the marriage of this arch-duchess of Austria with the king of Portugal was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very acceptable to our court, who readily offered to send her Majesty to Lisbon, under the protection of a British squadron, after having been first espoused by proxy at Vienna. Accordingly she set out for Holland, where Rear-admiral Baker attended, with a small squadron, in order to bring her to England. Her Majesty soon arrived at Portsmouth, where she received the compliments of our court, and had the highest honours paid her, during her residence at that place; and, after a short stay, she went on board the Royal Anne, and was conducted safely to Lisbon. Upon this occasion, her Portuguese Majesty presented Sir George Byng with her picture set in diamonds, to a very great value; and, before he left Lisbon, he received a commission from England, appointing him to be admiral of the white. In the year 1709, Sir George commanded in chief her Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean, where, however, though he did all that could be expected from him, or that it was possible for him to do, most of his measures and great designs were frustrated by the warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the court of Spain; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even to what they themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done

for them, not considering that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. After his return home from this command, he was made one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral (the prince of Denmark being dead); in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death, when, not falling in with the measures of those times, he was removed; but, upon the accession of King George, he was restored to that employment. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, in the year 1715, he was appointed to the command of a squadron in the Downs; with which he kept so watchful an eye along the French coast, that he examined ships even in their ports; and having detected at Havre de Grace great quantities of arms and ammunition, shipped there for the use of the Pretender, he obtained orders from the court of France for putting them on shore; for which important services, the king created him a baronet, and gave him a ring of great value, with other marks of his royal favour. In the year 1717, it being discovered that an invasion was intended against this kingdom by Charles XII. king of Sweden, orders were issued for sending a formidable squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Byng; who accordingly sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived on the 11th of April. The next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences which were held the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join. He then dispatched five ships of the line to cruise in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the Point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. He himself only waited for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British squadron into the Baltic; and on the 7th of May he left Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships,

bound for several ports of the Baltic, and being joined by the Danish fleet commanded by Vice-admiral Gabel, they sailed together towards Carlscroon, but were obliged, by contrary winds, to return. The Swedes had absolutely laid aside whatever design they had formed to our prejudice, and as no enemy appeared, and the season began to advance, Sir George thought of returning home with the fleet; and, accordingly, having left behind him six men of war to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet, he passed the Sound, with the remainder of his squadron, on the 2d of November, and on the fifteenth of the same month, arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames. There he left his fleet, and coming up to London, was graciously received by his Majesty. Thus ended this expedition, which effectually removed all apprehensions that the nation was under from the Swedes.

We are now to enter upon a scene of action the most important of any Sir George Byng was ever engaged in. This was, the famous expedition of the English fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions, according to the obligations England was under by treaty, against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had, the year before, surprised Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. On the 15th of June, Sir George, who was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief, sailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital ship, and a store ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the Rupert to Lisbon for intelligence; and when he was arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, the King's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he had received

for his conduct, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. This was done with a view to induce the king of Spain to recall his troops, or at least agree to a suspension of arms. But it had not this effect; for when Mr. Stanhope shewed this letter to the Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spanish affairs, that able minister, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than consent to any such proposals; adding, that the Spaniards were not to be frightened, and that he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the event. The Cardinal, however, was prevailed upon by the mild expostulations of Mr. Stanhope, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let him know his Majesty's resolution thereupon: accordingly an answer was returned by the cardinal, written under the admiral's letter, acquainting the British Minister, that it was his Catholic Majesty's resolution, that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had from the king his master. The admiral pursuing his voyage, though with unfavourable winds, was rejoined, off Cape Spartel, by the Superbe and Rupert, who brought him advice of the mighty preparations that the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and informed him that their fleet had sailed from thence to the eastward, on the 18th of June. In passing by Gibraltar, Vice-admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle man of war, and a galley. The admiral having four regiments of foot, which he was to land at Minorca, in order to relieve the Soldiers there in garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the fleet, proceeded to that place, and on the 25th of July, anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon. Here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen, on the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering south-east:

upon this he dispatched expresses to the governor of Milan, and the vice-roy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; from whence he sailed on the 25th of July, and arrived, on the 1st of August, in the Bay of Naples. The fleet sailing in, with a gentle gale, and consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, most of them large ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a sight as had never been seen before in those parts. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and such a prodigious number of boats came off, some with provisions, others out of curiosity, that the sea between the fleet and the shore was, literally covered. The Imperial viceroy, Count Daun, being ill, sent his compliments to the admiral, who went on shore, attended by the flag-officers and captains, in their boats, and was saluted on his landing by all the cannon round the city and castles, and was conducted to court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy. In his conference with Count Daun, Sir George learned that the Spanish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, had landed in Sicily, and made themselves masters of a great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were then carrying on the siege of the citadel. Hereupon it was agreed, that the viceroy should send two thousand Germans, in tartans, to Messina, under the protection of the British fleet, to relieve that citadel. Whilst the necessary preparations were making for this service, the admiral was lodged at the palace of the Duke De Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception, and was entertained in the most splendid manner. The viceroy, moreover, presented him with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command: he likewise made a present of a very fine sword to the admiral's son, and sent abundance of refreshments to the fleet, consisting of oxen,

sheep, sugar, wine, brandy, and other things. On the 6th of August, Sir George sailed from Naples, and on the 9th, arrived in view of the Faro of Messina. From this station he dispatched his first captain to Messina, with a letter to the Marquis De Lede, who commanded the Spanish army, wherein he acquainted him, that the king, his master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquillity of Italy, had sent him into these seas; that he came fully empowered and instructed to promote such measures as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned; and that his Majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success: for which reasons he proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace; observing, at the same time, that if he was not so happy as to succeed in this proposal, he then hoped to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which was, to use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend. The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, which was expressed in very polite terms, but acquainted Sir George, that the marquis had no powers to treat, and consequently could not agree to any suspension of arms, and that he should follow his orders, which directed him to seize upon Sicily for his master, the king of Spain. According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but, as he stood in about the Point of

the Faro towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of it lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven men of war, small and great, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, gallies, and store-ships. On sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, but in good order of battle. The admiral followed them all the rest of that day, and the succeeding night; and the next morning early, the English being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis De Mari, rear-admiral, with six men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which the admiral detached Captain Walton, of the Canterbury, with five more ships, after them, whilst he himself pursued the main body of the Spanish fleet. About ten o'clock, two of his ships came up with them, and the engagement began, which continued till the evening, and ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards. The English received but little damage. The admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and whilst he was thus employed, he, as we have already seen, received a letter from Captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that separated from the main fleet, under the command of the Marquis De Mari, giving him an account that he had taken and destroyed them all.

As soon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he sent away his eldest son to England to report the same to his Majesty. He was most graciously received by the king who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with full powers to his father to negociate with the several princes and states of Italy, and with the royal grant to the officers and seamen of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. The admiral, in the mean time, prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that still held out in Sicily, sailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by one of the Spanish rear-admirals, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November. Here he stayed till February, when he sailed to Port Mahon to refit his ships, leaving his son at Naples, to manage his correspondence with the viceroy, and to inform the court of England of all that happened in those parts. Having refitted his squadron, the admiral sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, where by the wisdom of his counsels, his Catholic Majesty was forced to accept the terms presented to him, and to accede to the quadruple alliance. Thus ended the war of Sicily, in which the fleet of Great Britain bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations. Having performed so many signal services, and brought the war to so fortunate a conclusion, the admiral departed from Italy, to attend the king his master at Hanover, where his Majesty devised means to reward the faithful services of the admiral, by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain; and on his return to England, he nominated him one of his privy-council. In the year 1721, Sir George was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Vis-

count Torrington, and Baron Byng of Southhill in Bedfordshire, and in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that order. After this his lordship had no other command at sea, and on that account we insert his memoirs at the end of the present reign, although he was singled out as an object of respect and honour by King George the Second, who when he came to the crown, was pleased to place his lordship at the head of naval affairs, by appointing him first lord commissioner of the Admiralty, in which station he died, at his house, in the Admiralty in January 1733, in the 70th year of his age. He was naturally of a tender constitution, but full of ardour; and by his indefatigable activity in the discharge of his duty upon all occasions, he had hardened his body to severe service, and had enured it to patience under the greatest fatigue. The early age at which he went to sea, would not admit of his making any great proficiency in literature; but his constant diligence, joined with excellent talents, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negociations and commissions with proper dignity and address. His lordship's maxim was, to leave nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application: and so striking and various were the proofs which he gave of his abilities and integrity, and so thoroughly was his reputation established abroad, that he left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

"In his civil capacity," says Mr. Charnock, "he appears to have suffered his attachment to particular forms and systems of government, to have hurried him into measures which moderate men would, perhaps, have hesitated to adopt, but in the midst of his enthusiasm, he was directed, at all times, and on all occasions, by what he thought the good of his country."

SIR JOHN JENNINGS

Was appointed lieutenant of the Pearl on the 12th of May 1687; on the 27th of August 1688, of the St. David; and, on the 22d of December following, of the Swallow; the last by commission from Lord Dartmouth. On the 16th of November 1689, he was advanced to the command of the St. Paul fire-ship. In 1690 he was made captain of the Experiment, of thirty-two guns, at that time employed as a cruising ship off the coast of Ireland, where he met with considerable success.

In 1693 he was made captain of the Victory under Sir John Ashby. He remained in this ship a very short time; and afterwards commanded the Winchester of sixty guns, one of the ships attached to the main fleet; afterwards he accompanied, in the Mary, Admiral Russel on his expedition to the Mediterranean. He continued to command this ship till the year 1696, when he was appointed captain of the Chichester, of eighty guns. In the month of January following he commanded the Plymouth, at that time employed as a cruising ship. On the 27th he fell in with and captured, a very fine privateer belonging to St. Maloe's, called La Concorde, pierced for twenty-two guns; but, at the time she was taken, mounting only fourteen. On the 5th of February, having at that time the Rye frigate in company, he discovered three ships standing towards him. He suffered two of them to run within gun-shot of him before he pretended to observe them: finding the Plymouth, on their nearer approach, to be a ship of war, they bore away with all the sail they could croud. Captain Jennings pursued them, and in about an hour's time got nearly along-side of the largest. The enemy threw their ship up into the wind; by which accident they lost their main-mast, and fore-top-mast: and on Captain Jennings's firing a single gun, struck their

colours. The prize was called the New Cherburg, built at Marseilles, for a cruiser, and mounting thirty-six guns.

The Rye coming up soon afterwards, Captain Jennings left that ship to take care of the prize, and with his utmost expedition made after the consort. He came up with her about one o'clock. Her captain finding all farther attempts to escape would be vain, resolutely brought to, and engaged the Plymouth for the space of three hours: nor did he at last surrender, till thirty-three of his people were either killed or wounded. This second prize was called the Dolphin, a privateer, from St. Maloe's, mounting only twenty-eight guns, but manned with a chosen crew, consisting of one hundred and ninety-six men.

Captain Jennings lost no longer time than was necessary to convoy his prizes into port. Sailing immediately with his old consort, the Rye, he met with the Severn man of war, which was employed also on the cruising service. They all three stood over to the coast of France; and, on the 25th of the same month, got sight of a French convoy of twelve ships. The Plymouth out-sailing her companions, soon came up with the sternmost of the merchant-ships, which Captain Jennings left to be secured by the Rye and Severn. He himself pursued the convoy, which consisted of two small ships of war belonging to Dunkirk, one mounting twelve the other eight guns. The latter Captain Jennings captured, as he afterwards did two of the merchant-ships; his consorts taking four more.

The peace at Ryswick taking place in a few months after this time, we meet with nothing memorable relative to this excellent commander till after the accession of Queen Anne.

On the recommencement of the war with France, in 1702, he was appointed to command the Kent, of seventy guns, and sailed soon afterwards, under Sir George Rooke, on the expedition against Cadiz. At the

attack on Vigo he assisted Vice-admiral Hopson, who led the assault with his division. After his return he was promoted to the St. George, a second rate of 96 guns. In this station he accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the year 1703, on his fruitless voyage to the Mediterranean, for the relief of the Cevenois. During the next year he continued captain of the same ship, and was present under Sir George Rooke, at the capture of Gibraltar, and the battle off Malaga, in which last he was stationed as one of the seconds to the commander-in-chief. His conduct and gallantry, on this occasion, were so remarkably conspicuous, that, on the 9th of October following, he received the honour of knighthood, as an express reward for the service he had rendered.

On the 24th of January 1704-5, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue; and being appointed to command in that station, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, joint-admiral of the main fleet, with the earl of Peterborough, was ordered to collect the ships of war at Spithead, previously to Shovel's arrival. He appears to have sailed, with a strong detachment of the fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral Sir George Byng, a few days before Sir Cloudesley, with the remainder, was ready for sea. The object of the cruise was, to reconnoitre the harbour of Brest, in order to discover whether the enemy had any squadron in that port ready for sea. Having received information that the French had eighteen ships of the line there, completely equipped, the commanders repaired to the rendezvous assigned them, where they were joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel on the 27th of May.

A council of war was held, in which it was determined, that Sir George Byng, and Sir John Jennings, should be left behind, with twelve ships of the line, to watch the motions of the enemy. A discretionary power was vested in Sir George either to dispatch Rear-admiral Jennings after the fleet, or to retain him in soundings, according to the intelligence he might at-

terwards receive relative to the motions of the enemy. It was thought most prudent to adopt the latter measure, and Sir John removed his flag into the Mary. But the French ships continuing in port, we do not meet with any thing more remarkable performed by this squadron than the capture of some privateers, which had for some time infested the coast of Ireland. Sir John returned into port, about the middle of November, having, as his last piece of service during this naval campaign, convoyed, from Ireland, an East India fleet, which had put in there some time before.

He was sent out, in the month of April 1706, under Sir George Byng, with the reinforcement dispatched to Sir John Leake at Lisbon. That admiral having sailed before their arrival, they proceeded after him to the Mediterranean, and joined him on the 30th of April. The first service undertaken by the fleet was the relief of Barcelona. Sir John Jennings, with Sir George Byng, and several of the ships which came from England with them, arrived off that city some hours before their comrades, and were very near surprising and capturing several of the enemy's ships, the rear of whose fleet they got sight of, as it quitted Barcelona road in great disorder. The siege being raised, and the soldiers embarked, the fleet sailed, on the 7th of May, for Valencia, where the troops were landed. It was afterwards resolved to proceed to Alicant: but information being received that the inhabitants of Carthagena wished only for the presence of the fleet, and an opportunity of declaring for King Charles III. it was immediately determined to steer thither. The fleet arrived on the 1st of June, and the conditions of surrender were finally settled the following day.

On the surrender of Carthagena, and the sailing of the main body of the fleet from hence, Sir John Jennings was left behind, with a squadron of four ships of the line, to arrange the civil government, and se-

cure the future internal tranquillity of that city. This task he diligently and judiciously fulfilled, to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants, and in so short a time, that in less than six weeks he was enabled to quit it and join Sir John Leake, who was at that time engaged in the siege of Alicant. Sir John Jennings arrived off that place on the 24th of July; and several breaches having been made in the fortifications next the sea, by a furious cannonade from the ships, a general assault, both from the sea, and the land, was resolved to be made on the 28th. The former of these was commanded by Sir John, who having overcome every impediment, notwithstanding the attack from the land was at first repulsed, succeeded in making himself master of the town, with a very inconsiderable loss. During this spirited encounter he had a very narrow escape, Lieutenant-colonel Petit being killed by a musket-shot, from a window, while standing close by him. The castle having surrendered about the middle of August, the fleet sailed for Altea bay, where it arrived on the 22d. Sir John was detached from thence for Lisbon with ten ships of the line, two frigates, and a fireship, which he was ordered to refit, and then to sail for the West Indies.

The greatest possible dispatch was used by him, after his arrival, in getting his squadron ready for sea, insomuch that he was enabled to sail by the 15th of October. Contrary winds impeded his voyage, prevented his getting into Madeira, and compelled him to bear away for Santa Cruz, where he discovered five ships hauled close in under the forts. He attempted to take or destroy them, but was obliged to desist, finding it impracticable, except by incurring the risk of disabling some of his ships, an hazard he was not warranted in venturing on, for so trivial a prospect of advantage.

On the 10th of December 1707, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the white; as he was, on the 8th of January ensuing, to be rear-admiral of the red: he

had served some years as rear-admiral of the blue: and, at that day, it was rather extraordinary for so active and highly esteemed a commander to remain in the same station so long without experiencing promotion; but now the current had once found its channel, it appeared to rush on him like a torrent, for, on the 20th of the same month, he was farther advanced, to be vice admiral of the red. When the French, in March following, meditated the invasion of Scotland, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Thames and Medway, in order to expedite the equipment of the ships that could be fitted out from Chatham and Woolwich. On that extraordinary emergency he acquitted himself with the greatest credit.

Towards the latter end of the year 1708, he was sent out, under the orders of Sir George Byng, to Lisbon and the Mediterranean.

Early in the year 1711, having been advanced to be admiral of the white, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 7th of January, and arrived at Lisbon, on the 23d. He stayed some weeks to collect the ships he was to convoy to the Mediterranean; and arrived with them at Barcelona on the 20th of March. Repeated defeat and misfortune had convinced the French of the folly of equipping large fleets: these had always been unable to contend with those of the allied powers. Their system of naval war was completely changed; and they contented themselves with sending out, small squadrons, and single ships, to keep the spirits of the people alive by the depredations which these desultory cruises enabled them to commit on our commerce.

Sir John having regulated and dispatched the necessary convoys from Barcelona, he sailed from thence for Port Mahon, where he was joined, on the 19th of May, by Vice-admiral Baker, and several ships, and he returned to Barcelona on the 1st of June. After

a short stay in that port he sailed for Toulon, in hopes of intercepting some of the enemy's corn ships from the Levant. On his return to Barcelona he received intelligence of an event which occasioned a new arrangement of the future operations: this was the death of the Emperor Joseph; in consequence of which King Charles became the presumptive heir to the Imperial crown. Sir John received orders to convoy his Majesty back to Genoa in case he should think proper to return to his hereditary dominions; and to provide for the tranquillity of the city of Naples, against any commotion that might arise during the then critical situation of affairs. The king himself appeared, at first, irresolute, not wishing to quit Catalonia till he had positive information of his having been actually elected emperor; and at the same time appearing unwilling to suffer the fleet to depart, as the safety of the Spanish cause, and all hopes of future success, were principally to be sustained by it. In this state were affairs when Sir John found it absolutely necessary to proceed to Mahon in order to refit; and in this, King Charles acquiesced, after having exacted from him a promise that he would return to Barcelona as soon as he had obtained the necessary supplies, and put his ships into a proper condition for service. Sir John strictly adhered to it, returning to Barcelona road on the 26th of July, with fourteen English and Dutch ships of the line. The rest of the ships of his squadron, being detached on different services, with orders to rendezvous at Barcelona, he did not think it proper to sail from thence till they had all rejoined him. His force, however, being completely collected by the beginning of September, the king embarked with Sir John, who sailed from Barcelona on the 16th; and, after a passage of ten days, landed his Majesty in safety at Genoa.

Sir John sailed almost immediately afterwards for Leghorn, in order to procure cables, and several other stores, of which he stood in need. Having supplied

himself with these, he repaired to Vado bay, where having caused the troops, destined for Catalonia, to be embarked, he put them under the protection of Captain Swanton, with five ships of the line and two fire-ships; accompanying them himself, as far as Cape Roses; and intending, afterwards, to proceed, with the remainder of the squadron, for Minorca. Off that island he encountered a dreadful storm; in which several of his ships sustained considerable damage, but had, however, the good fortune to get into Port Mahon, on the following day, without having sustained any more serious injury.

About Christmas the admiral received intelligence that the French were employed in equipping a squadron of eight ships of the line and four frigates at Toulon, which were intended for sea early in the spring, and destined for the West Indies. This armament being of too much consequence to be disregarded, and he himself too modest to trust his own judgment, a council of war was called on the 22d of February; in which, after having enquired into the state of the ships, it was found they could not proceed to sea till they had procured a supply of provisions.

The necessary recruit of stores and provisions having reached Mahon, a second council of war was held on the 11th of March, in which it was determined to put to sea immediately with all the ships that were at that time in a condition for service. These amounted to eleven ships of the line, and four frigates, with which they stretched over to Cape Toulon, off which it was intended to cruise until some certain advice could be collected relative to the enemy. But information being received, a few days afterwards, from Captain Walpole, of the Lion, that he had seen nine large ships to the north-west of Minorca, it was resolved to proceed to the southward of Majorca, and Yvica, in order to intercept the enemy in their passage down the Straits. This measure

proving unsuccessful, the admiral came to an anchor, on the 1st of April, off the island of Formentura; and, after having dispatched two frigates to look into the several ports and bays, where it might be most probably presumed the French ships had taken shelter, sailed to Barcelona to wait their return. No satisfactory intelligence being procured by these means, Sir John continued in that port till he was joined, in the month of May, by the Dutch vice-admiral, having under his convoy a fleet of transports, with six thousand troops on board. These being disembarked, and the emperor, as well as Count Staremberg, being desirous of having a large body of cavalry escorted from Italy to Catalonia, the admiral sailed to Vado; from whence, having the troops just mentioned under his protection, he returned to Barcelona on the 7th of August.

In about a month after this he received information of the suspension of arms; and, at the same time, special instructions from Lord Bolingbroke, then Secretary of State, to suffer a large corn fleet, bound for France, to pass unmolested. This had been long expected; and, but for these orders, would, from the precautions he had taken, have fallen into the admiral's hands. The operations of war being closed, it might naturally be supposed a life of ease and inactivity would have succeeded to those fatigues of watchful service, in which he had, for so many years, been engaged.

He cannot, however, be said to have remained in a state of useless inactivity, notwithstanding hostilities had ceased between the allied powers. The Salletine corsairs had committed some acts of violence: these Sir John, during the ensuing winter, not only took care to repress, but also to prevent the repetition of. In the spring he had the honour of convoying the empress from Barcelona to Genoa. At his departure she presented him with her picture set with diamonds; and, as an additional mark of her

esteem, gave his nephew a very valuable diamond ring.

Another service he was engaged in during the year 1713, was the conveyance back to Italy, of the troops, that had been employed in the service of the allies, amounting to thirty thousand; an undertaking of much difficulty, though not of danger. He afterwards conducted the duke and duchess of Savoy from Villa Franca to Sicily, their new kingdom. Having completely fulfilled all his instructions, he obtained permission to resign his command and return home through France. He arrived at Paris on the 16th of November, and in England a few days afterwards.

After George the First landed, a change took place in the naval department; and, in consequence, Sir John Jennings, who stood among the highest in the royal favour, was appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, an office in which he continued during the whole of the reign. Early in the year 1716, he was called into active service as admiral of the white, and appointed to command a squadron of ten ships of the line, sent to the Firth of Edinburgh, in consequence of the Pretender having, a short time before, landed in Scotland. Sir John repaired by land to Edinburgh, and hoisting his flag on board the Oxford, took upon him the command on the 1st of February. He immediately detached several ships to attend the motions of the king's forces, and render them every assistance in their power where necessary or possible, and at the same time to distress the rebels by harrassing their posts near the coasts and intercepting their supplies.

From this time we meet with nothing very interesting relative to Sir John, till the 28th of August 1720, when he was appointed ranger of Greenwich park, and governor of the hospital; of which noble institution he proved a most worthy ruler and protector.*

* "A noble statue of George the First, cut out of a block of white marble, taken in a French ship, by Sir George Rooke, was

A greater compliment could not at that time have been paid him, than in having appointed him successor to so good and worthy a man as Lord Aylmer; and it is but justice to his memory to assert, he did not derogate from the well-known virtues of his predecessor. In the month of November he was appointed to command the convoy which attended the king from Helvoetsluys to Margate: after this he does not appear to have been employed in the line of active service till the year 1726, when he was appointed to command a squadron of nine ships of the line, which the intrigues of the Spanish court induced the British government to send into the Mediterranean. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 20th of July; but was obliged, by a contrary wind, to put into Torbay, where he continued till the 23d. On the 3d of August he arrived in the Bay of St. Antonio, where he found two Spanish ships of war, to which he never offered the smallest violence.

The Spaniards themselves were in the utmost agitation and consternation. All the regular troops in the neighbourhood of St. Antonio were drawn thither, in expectation of an immediate descent; which, indeed, was sufficiently warranted by the unprovoked conduct of the governor, who ordered several shot to be fired at the headmost ships, as though they had been declared enemies. The cool conduct of the admiral prevented any farther ill consequences: he contented himself with sending an officer to expostulate on the impropriety of such behaviour; and an

presented by him, and is erected in the centre of the great square of the hospital. An exceedingly good portrait of him, at full length, painted by Richardson, is preserved in the council room there: we know not, however, so well to associate our ideas, at the present day, as to persuade ourselves of its being a representation of the admiral and commander-in-chief of the British fleet. This is occasioned by his being painted in the whimsical habit of the times; a full dress suit of brown velvet, rolled up stockings, and immense square-toed shoes."

handsome apology, on the part of the aggressors, instantly healed the breach. On the 8th the admiral sailed for the Groyne, and on the 25th reached Lisbon. Here he was received with the utmost attention; the king of Portugal giving him an audience, and issuing orders that the squadron should be immediately supplied with whatever stores or refreshments the ships, or their crews, stood in need of.

The admiral quitted the Tagus on the 25th of August, and anchored in the Bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, on the 31st. He was received with the utmost civility, notwithstanding the people were every where in the utmost consternation, and actually retired several leagues into the country. The alarm was excessive, for a strong reinforcement was immediately marched to augment the garrison of Cadiz; and the most vigorous measures were immediately used to put that city into the best possible state of defence. The appearance of this squadron, for that time effectually intimidated the Spaniards from all hostile designs. This being the sole end of its equipment, Sir John quitted Cadiz the latter end of September; and, after a short stay at Lisbon, returned to Spithead, where he arrived on the 22d of October.

With this expedition ends the naval life of Sir John Jennings. He continued to live ever afterwards in honourable retirement, quitting the office of commissioner of the Admiralty on the accession of King George the Second, and resigning also his rank as an admiral, which he had till then retained, in the year 1734. He died on the 23d of December, 1745, at which time he had attained a very advanced age.

SIR JAMES WISHART,

The descendant of a very respectable family in North Britain, was appointed commander of the Pearl on the 4th of July, 1689. We find him captain of the Mary galley, of thirty-four guns, in 1691, and principally employed in the unenviable service of convoying the Russian and coasting trade. His care and diligence, however, in this occupation, procured him the notice and esteem of his superiors in command, and caused his promotion in the following year, to the Oxford, a fourth rate, of fifty-four guns. In the year 1696, he was appointed captain of the Dorsetshire, of eighty guns, one of the ships belonging to Sir George Rooke's division in the main fleet.

In the month of March, 1696-7, still continuing in the same ship, he was appointed to command a small squadron employed in the North Sea, principally in the escort of the trade to, and from Holland. The peace of Ryswick taking place in a few months after this time, he had a retirement from the service, not appearing to have again received any commission till after the accession of Queen Anne, when he was made captain of the Eagle, and sent on the expedition to Cadiz, under Sir George Rooke. This great commander having observed in him all the qualities necessary to form a good officer, as well as a constant attention to render those virtues conspicuous, conceived for him the strongest attachment, which the worthy conduct of the latter proved not to have been, in the smallest degree, misplaced.

When the fleet was on its return to England, after the failure of the attempt on Cadiz, Captain Wishart was detached, with two other ships, and some transports, to take in water in Lagos Bay. This measure proved the means of first procuring intelligence of the arrival of the Spanish galleons in the harbour of

Vigo. Captain Hardy, of the Pembroke, having made this discovery, imparted it to Captain Wishart, who was the senior officer of the detachment. He dispatched the Pembroke itself, being the best sailing ship, to carry this important information to the commander-in-chief. The attack, and the success which attended it, we have already seen.

In the year 1703, he was taken by Sir George Rooke, who was again appointed commander-in-chief, to be his first captain; but no enemy appearing in the Atlantic, the plan of operations was changed. The fleet returned into port; and a considerable part of it sailed, early in the month of July, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, for the Mediterranean. Captain Wishart did not accompany him: and, as Sir George continued on shore till the month of January ensuing, is not believed to have received any other commission till that time. The promotion of Captain Whetstone, who was a junior officer to Mr. Wishart, occasioned much concern to Sir George. The business was, however, soon accommodated, so as to satisfy the demands of Sir George, and the honour of Captain Wishart, by promoting the latter to be rear-admiral of the blue, with that precedence to which he was justly entitled to, to rank before Mr. Whetstone. He still retained his original station, though promoted to be a flag officer.

On the arrival of the fleet at Lisbon, King Charles presented him with his picture richly set with diamonds, and two hundred guineas for the purchase of a piece of plate. Although he held the station of first captain to Sir George Rooke, while that commander continued at Lisbon, Sir James Wishart, who, in addition to his promotion, had received the honour of knighthood, was detached on a cruise, with ten English and Dutch frigates and ships of war. Nothing material, however, occurred except his falling in with six large French ships, supposed to have been the same which had been chaced a few days before

by a stouter detachment under Sir Andrew Leake. The ships under Sir James, though superior in point of numbers, were much inferior in actual strength; so that the enemy, when the fleets fell in with each other, appeared very resolute, and to have a fixed intention to come to action. But they soon afterwards hauled their wind, and having the advantage, in point of sailing, effected their escape. Sir James rejoined Sir George Rooke on the 18th of May.

The other operations of the fleet, during the expedition of the year 1704, have been already given at some length in the life of Sir George Rooke; and, as from the station he held, it is impossible to discover the services of the rear-admiral from those of the commander-in-chief, all that can be said is, that there can be no farther commendation bestowed on his conduct than that it merited, the cordial approbation of Sir George, whose esteem for him rose, if possible, with the length of their acquaintance. When the ships returned to England, Sir James, on the removal of Sir George from the chief command, laid down his commission, and retired from the service.

We meet with nothing relative to him after this time, till we find him, in November 1707, one of the admirals assembled, with five other flag officers, under Prince George, the lord high-admiral, to examine the proceedings of the court-martial, and its decision, on the trial of Sir Thomas Hardy. On the 20th of June, 1708, Sir James was appointed one of the council to Prince George, as lord high-admiral; but his royal highness dying on the 28th of October following, that commission of course terminated. On the 20th of December 1710, Sir James was made a lord of the Admiralty; and, on the 7th of February, 1711-12, was appointed the commissioner to go to Holland, as successor to Sir David Mitchell, to regulate the marine quota, pursuant to the treaties between her Majesty and the States-general, for the service of

the year 1712. The treaty of Utrecht having closed hostilities, little information is to be expected relative to him in the line of service. His seat at the board of Admiralty he retained through several commissions; and, in the month of December, 1713, was advanced to be admiral of the white, and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

On the accession of George I. the interest of those men, with whom he had lived in the strictest terms of intimacy and friendship, began to decline; and a complete change taking place soon afterwards in every department of administration, Sir James was involved in it. On the 14th of October a new commission was made out for executing the office of lord high-admiral, which was a prelude to his final dismission, both from his civil employment and from the service; Sir Charles Wager being sent, in the month of January following, to supersede him in his Mediterranean command. After his return, he lived totally in retirement till the time of his death, which took place some time in the year 1729.*

VICE-ADMIRAL BAKER.

The first commission of this gentleman in the navy, which was that of appointing him lieutenant of the Woolwich, he received from Lord Dartmouth, on the 14th of November, 1688. After the Revolution, having served in the same station, on board divers ships, with distinguished credit and reputation, he was promoted to the command of the Mary galley, in October, 1691. In 1692, he was made captain of the Newcastle, of forty-six guns, one of the ships sent under Sir George Rooke, in the following year, as

* In Rear-admiral Hardy's List of Naval Officers, he is said to have died on the 30th of May, 1723; but this, we apprehend, to be a mistake.

convoy to the unfortunate Smyrna fleet. In 1696, we find him commanding the Falmouth, of forty-eight guns, then a cruiser in the Mediterranean. He was, in 1698, commander of the Medway, on the same station; and, in the month of October, 1699, was sent in this ship to Tangiers, to treat with the emperor of Morocco, for the redemption of such British captives as were in his possession; but with the success of this negociation we are not acquainted. Although the early part of this gentleman's service does not appear to have been marked with any of those brilliant achievements which have so deservedly raised such a number of his gallant contemporaries so high in public notice, as well as popular favour, yet his services appear to have justly merited every honour, which the strictest attention to duty naturally claims. He continued to be employed constantly during the peace; and soon after the accession of Queen Anne, was advanced to be captain of the Monmouth, of seventy guns.

This ship he commanded as one of the fleet sent on the expedition against Cadiz, which bore a very distinguished share in the subsequent attack on Vigo, being one of Vice-admiral Hopson's division, who led the assault. He continued, during the next two years, in the command of the same ship, first under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in 1703, who was sent into the Mediterranean, to attempt the relief of the Cevenois; and, in 1704, under Sir George Rooke. The latter expedition will always be remembered, as well on account of the capture of Gibraltar, as of the victory over the French fleet off Malaga. In both these signal services, Captain Baker bore a most distinguished part; and, in the latter, he was severely wounded. As soon as he had recovered, he was re-appointed to the Monmouth; in which ship he continued to serve till the month of January, 1707-8. Although the nature of the service allotted to him, which was that of a private commander in the main fleet, prevented him

from using those more brilliant exertions necessary to acquire popularity and fame, yet, in the milder duties of a commander, which were those which fell within his reach, it may be insisted, that he always stood, we will not say unrivalled, but undoubtedly unexcelled.

These quiet, but, at the same time, most valuable qualifications, recommended him to the attention and friendship of all men: and while, on the one hand, his courage gained their admiration; so, on the other, did his humanity and benevolence justly earn their love and esteem. On the 26th of January, 1707-8, he was very worthily promoted to be rear-admiral of the white. He was immediately afterwards appointed to serve under Sir George Byng, who was made admiral of the squadron sent to counteract the invasion of Scotland, by the French, in favour of the Pretender. The rear-admiral was detached with a small squadron to escort the troops from Ostend, which were sent thither, from the army in Flanders, to prevent the attempt of the French by land. He arrived with his charge at Teignmouth, on the 31st of March, after a very prosperous passage of three days. The next service we find him engaged in, was that of convoying, from Holland to this country, Mary Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and betrothed queen of Portugal. He afterwards accompanied her to Lisbon, under the command of Sir George Byng, with whom he continued to serve in the Mediterranean, during a part of the following year. Returning to England in the beginning of the summer, he, for a short time, commanded a small squadron in the Channel.

On the 12th of November, 1709, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue. A little while before this he had been appointed to take charge of a convoy of troops, for the army in Spain, as well as a reinforcement for the Mediterranean fleet, of which he was appointed commander, as successor to Sir Ed-

ward Whitaker. Having joined that admiral at Mahon, he assumed the chief command, on the departure of the former for England, in the month of March. Having under him nine ships of the line, a frigate, and a fire-ship, he conducted the several transports and store-ships to the ports whither they were bound; and, on his return to Barcelona, when off the Faro of Messina, he fell in with two large ships and two gallies, belonging to the enemy, having under their convoy a number of saitees. He gave chace, and with such success, that the two ships, one of them mounting fifty-six guns, and a few of the convoy, were taken; the gallies, and the remainder of the saitees making their escape. Having executed his commission, by afterwards escorting the troops to Barcelona, he proceeded to Tarragona, where he put himself under the orders of Sir John Norris, who had just arrived from England, with a commission of commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

On this station, Mr. Baker continued during the remainder of the war, but with little opportunity of distinguishing himself, except by his diligence. In 1711, when Sir John Jennings was sent to take the command in the Straits, he dispatched Mr. Baker to Lisbon, with six ships of the line and two frigates, for the protection of commerce, on the coast of Portugal. Having received orders from England to escort, as far as Cape Spartel, a fleet of transports and store-ships, bound to Port Mahon, he sailed on this service about the eighth of February, 1712; and, on the 16th, drove on shore near Cape St. Mary's, a very valuable Spanish ship, mounting sixty guns. The weather being tempestuous, it was too dangerous for boats to approach the prize; and when it had moderated sufficiently to permit them, the captors, to their great disappointment, found it already plundered by the Portuguese from the shore. The vice admiral complained of this; and represented it somewhat forcibly to the court of Portugal, but without being

able to obtain any satisfaction, either from their honour, or their justice. In a few days after, he had the good fortune to capture a valuable French ship, bound to Martinico: and having fulfilled his instructions returned to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 8th of March.

The short interval between this and the peace at Ryswick was consumed in convoying, to the Madeiras, the outward-bound Portuguese fleet, and in cruising for the protection of another which was expected from the Brazils. A violent storm which happened about the middle of September, prevented his accomplishing this service; many of his ships being much shattered by it, and the squadron blown so far from its station, that it was judged most expedient to bear away for Lisbon, to refit. The cessation of hostilities being proclaimed soon after, the vice-admiral was ordered to return with his ships to England.

He had no other appointment during the reign of Queen Anne; but, soon after the accession of George I. was appointed to command a squadron sent into the Mediterranean, as well for the protection of commerce as to restrain the depredations of the Salletines, who began to be troublesome. He was ordered also to renew the treaties of peace with the rest of the Barbary states. He sailed on this service in June, 1716; and, on the 16th, was advanced to be vice-admiral of the white. He arrived at Tripoli on the 2d of July; and having included, in the treaty of peace, the Minorquins, the recently acquired subjects of the king of Great Britain, he sailed for Tunis, where he was equally successful as a negociator. The Salletines were not so equitably disposed: the vice-admiral, therefore, was obliged to have recourse to compulsive measures; and his own activity, assisted by the gallantry of the private commanders under him, were not long in compelling that peaceable demeanour which pirates are always unwilling to observe. Having thus happily fulfilled the whole object of his

expedition, he was preparing to return to England, when death, ever regretted, when putting a period to the life of a gallant man, but particularly so when he is, as it may be said, prematurely snatched in the prime of life, closed the honourable career of this brave and good man,* on the tenth of November, 1716, he being then in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

PEREGRINE OSBORNE,

DUKE OF LEEDS,

Better known in the naval world as earl of Danby and marquis of Carmarthen, was the son of Sir Thomas Osborne, Baronet; created Baron Kiveton, Viscount Latimer, and earl of Danby, by King Charles II.; and raised, by King William, to the dignities of marquis of Carmarthen and duke of Leeds. Peregrine Osborne was called up, by writ, to the House of Peers, and took his seat in that assembly on the 19th of March 1689-90, by the title of Lord Osborne, of Kiveton. Having conceived a strong inclination to a naval life, he served as a volunteeer on board divers ships, and was, on the 2d of January 1691, appointed commander of the Suffolk. He was styled

* Lediard makes the following just and honourable remark on his death: "The loss of Admiral Baker was very much lamented, he being an officer of consummate skill and experience." A splendid monument, bearing the following inscription, was erected to his memory in Westminster abbey:

MS.
To the memory of John Baker, Esq.
Vice-admiral of the white squadron of the British fleet;
Who, when he commanded in the
Mediterranean,
Died at Port Mahon, the 10th of November, 1716,
Æt. 56.
He was a brave, judicious, and experienced officer;
A sincere friend, and a true lover of his country.
Manet post funera virtus.

earl of Danby, as the immediate heir of the marquis of Carmarthen. He continued as a private captain till July 1693, having in the intermediate time much distinguished himself at the battle off La Hogue, as well as on other occasions. In the beginning of the year 1693 he was appointed commander of the Royal William, a first rate of one hundred guns; and, on the sailing of the fleet, was stationed in the line as one of the seconds to the joint commanders-in-chief; but on the death of Sir John Ashby, in 1693, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red.* In the following year he served under Lord Berkeley as rear-admiral of the blue. Among the operations intended for the Channel fleet was the attack on Brest; and the marquis is said to have requested the command of the detachment ordered on this service.

This was one of the most desperate undertakings ever allotted to a commander; and the steady resolution with which he carried his orders into execution, as well as the precautions he took to ensure success, reflect on him a greater honour, than could have been acquired in a less arduous undertaking by the most brilliant victory. The marquis having shifted his flag into the Monk, led his detachment and saw his ships posted in the several stations assigned to them. The service was attended with the greatest danger; for they were not only very warmly received by a number of batteries of heavy cannon and mortars, but as soon as the Monk and the other

* In the original line of battle, made out in consequence of Sir J. Ashby's death, and bearing date the very day he died, he is so stationed, having Capt. Benj. Hoskins under him as commander of the ship. All historians have agreed in dating his promotion to this high station in the year 1697; and we have some doubt, whether this was not merely temporary. It is the only instance, however, if it is one, of any appointment short of permanent rank taking place in the European seas: nevertheless, as we find him commanding after this time as rear-admiral of the blue, we think it at least fair to express our doubts.

ships had brought up, three very heavy masked batteries, of which the assailants were perfectly ignorant, suddenly opened upon them, and rendered their utmost exertions of no effect.

The marquis had on this occasion a narrow escape, a shell bursting in the Monk and killing a marine who was at that instant close to him. His conduct after his defeat, did him, probably, as much honour as others have derived from the most successful operations. He bore his misfortune with magnanimity, and bestowed the highest encomiums on all those who were employed under him. He published a very modest account of this desperate undertaking, in which he contented himself with saying, for his own justification, that if the force of the assailants had been double what it was, the attempt must have proved impracticable.

After his return from this unfortunate expedition he was appointed, in November, to command the ships which convoyed the king from Holland. In 1695 he was stationed with a squadron, for the protection of trade, during the summer, at the entrance of the Channel; and this appears to have been the only service in which he was engaged during that year. While thus employed he mistook a fleet of homeward-bound merchant ships for that of Brest, which was supposed to be at sea, and in such force as would have rendered it an act of the most extravagant rashness to have faced them. This error caused him to retire, through the justest motives of prudence, up the Irish Channel; and the passage being left clear, a considerable number of ships bound home from Barbadoes, as well as two others still more valuably laden from the East Indies, fell into the hands of the enemy.

In the year 1697, he was appointed colonel of the first regiment of marines, and rear-admiral of the red; but he does not appear to have put to sea, with any command, after this time, during the reign of King

William; nor, indeed, while he chose to retain his rank in the service, if we except his having, in the month of April 1705, taken the command of a squadron, with which he escorted the duke of Marlborough to Holland, and a fleet of merchant-ships from thence to England. He continued, however, on the list of admirals, and received the regular promotions, till, at last, he attained the highest rank in the service, having, on the 21st of December 1708, been declared admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet. He did not, however, take upon him the execution of this high trust, which was immediately afterwards transferred to Sir John Leake.

From this time he continued to live in retirement with regard to the naval service, which he finally quitted in the year 1712, in consequence of the death of his father; by which event he became duke of Leeds. He enjoyed, many years, this high dignity, which he maintained in its fullest lustre. Dying on the 25th of June 1729, in the 71st year of his age, he was succeeded in his titles and estate by Peregrine Hyde Osborne, the survivor of his two sons.

SIR WILLIAM JUMPER.

Few men, who have not lived to attain the rank of commanders-in-chief, or, at least, flag-officers, have ever acquired so much renown as this gentleman; fortune having been singularly bountiful in throwing, perhaps, a greater number of opportunities of distinguishing himself, as a private captain, than, probably, ever before fell to the lot of any one person. His first commission was that of second lieutenant of the Resolution, which he received from the Lord Dartmouth, at that time commander-in-chief of the fleet, on the 29th of November 1688. Having served with distinguished reputation, as lieutenant of various ships, he was promoted, on the 17th of February 1692,

to be commander of the Hopewell fire-ship. In the following year he was appointed captain of one of the light vessels belonging to the main fleet. He was, in the month of July, promoted to the Adventure, of forty-four guns, a ship, though of much superior force, employed in the same line of service as the former.

His diligent attention to the duties of his station procured him, in 1694, a still farther promotion, to be captain of the Weymouth, a fourth rate, in which he quickly acquired the greatest renown. Being on a cruise off the coast of Ireland, in the month of June, in company with the Medway, at that time commanded by Mr. Dilkes, they fell in with a ship of war, belonging to St. Maloe's, called the Invincible. The Weymouth being by far a better sailing ship than the Medway, began to engage the enemy at two o'clock on the morning of the 17th of June. The Invincible used every endeavour to escape, and had so far the advantage, in point of speed, that the Weymouth was unable to close with her till after a running fight, which continued till eight o'clock at night. The Invincible's main-top-mast being then carried away, the Dunkirk was enabled to join the Weymouth in the attack, which the enemy prevented by an immediate surrender.

On the 31st of the same month, after a very long chace, he took a second, of inferior force indeed to the first, but little less important in a national point of view, as it had done incredible mischief to the commerce of the allied powers, and was esteemed one of the best sailing vessels that ever put to sea. On the 31st of August following he took a third, mounting twenty-eight guns. The captain of this vessel being a man of most daring spirit, and having a chosen and numerous crew to support him, did not surrender till after a desperate action, in which he had thirty of his men killed, and twenty-five wounded. Having received intelligence, about the middle of September, of a fleet of ships being seen off Ushant,

Captain Jumper hesitated not a moment in putting to sea in search of them, and overtaking them, he was disappointed in finding them all neutral ships, bound indeed to different ports in France, but which, from the nature of their cargoes, the laws of nations, and treaties then existing, forbade him to make prize of.

On the 23d of the same month he was again equally unfortunate; for having, during his chace of a large French ship, lost both his fore-top-mast and fore-top-gallant-mast, his antagonist deriving courage from the misfortune, tacked and bore down upon him with much appearance of resolution: but on Captain Jumper receiving him with a broadside, disliking so rough a salutation, he betook himself to immediate flight, which the disabled state of the Weymouth rendered our English commander incapable of preventing.

The Weymouth being employed, for some months, in convoying the fleets to and from Ireland, we find nothing very interesting till May 1695, during which month he captured two privateers, one of fourteen, the other of sixteen guns. On the 19th of July he fell in with another large privateer belonging to St. Maloe's, pierced for forty-eight guns, though having only thirty-six on board. Being of larger dimensions than the Weymouth herself, and the French commander a man of natural gallantry, a spirited contest ensued; in consequence of which, the enemy having lost all their masts and a considerable number of their men, were at length compelled to surrender. He had soon after this some success against the commerce of the enemy, from whom he took some very valuable prizes.

In November, he captured a large private ship of war, which had been lent by the king to the merchants, and, when in the service of the former, had mounted forty guns, but when captured had only twenty-four. This rapid tide of success, which, with a few exceptions, had so long attended him, was in-

terrupted, in the course of the following month, by a very melancholy private misfortune.

Having returned into Plymouth to recruit his stock of water and provisions, as he was coming on shore in his pinnace, accompanied by his wife, and a Captain Smith who commanded the Portland, the boat overset, and Captain Smith, as well as Mrs. Jumper, unhappily lost their lives. Captain Jumper, as soon as he had recovered from this shock, again put to sea, and in the month of February captured a large French privateer, of twenty guns, and several other prizes of inferior consequence. He continued during the whole of this year on the same kind of service; and in the beginning of December engaged and captured a French ship of war, called the Fougueux, pierced for sixty and mounting forty-eight guns, which striking on a rock during the engagement, sunk soon afterwards. Having in the interval captured several merchant vessels of small note, on the 22d of the same month he fell in with a French ship of war, mounting fifty guns, which he engaged, and would have taken, but that some cartridges taking fire on board the Weymouth, blew up the round-house, and disabled many of the men upon the quarter-deck. During the confusion, the enemy seized the opportunity of edging away; but the fire being presently extinguished, Captain Jumper pursued, and once more brought his antagonist to close action. He was afterwards made captain of the Lenox, one of the ships sent, under Sir George Rooke, on the expedition against Cadiz; in which attack, he bore a greater part than any other naval commander, being ordered to cannonade St. Catherine's fort, and cover the landing of the troops: a service he completely executed, and with the most spirited address. In the following year he accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to the Mediterranean, and came back to England in the month of December; and in the following year, still keeping the com-

mand of the Lenox, again returned to the Mediterranean with the fleet under Sir George Rooke.

The brilliant success which crowned this expedition is well known; and in every operation the bravery of Captain Jumper was singularly conspicuous. After being instrumental in the reduction of Gibraltar, he signalized himself no less remarkably at the battle off Malaga, having engaged and driven three of the enemy's ships out of the line. He was dangerously wounded in this encounter; but was not prevented, by that accident, from continuing in service: nor does it even appear that he ever quitted his ship on the above account. It is a singular circumstance, worthy to be remarked, that he never changed his ship after the accession of Queen Anne. Soon after his return to England he received the honour of knighthood as a public and highly deserved mark of the royal approbation of his conduct.

In the month of January 1705-6, he commanded the convoy bound from Lisbon for England, which he conducted in safety to the Downs, after a prosperous passage of eleven days. While he continued at Lisbon waiting to collect his charge, he displayed the strongest proof of zeal for the service of his country, and the cause of the Arch-duke Charles, having, at the representation of Mr. Methuen, the British envoy at Lisbon, dispatched the Pembroke, one of the ships under his command, to Gibraltar, with a supply of money; for the want of which the garrison was almost in a state of mutiny.

In 1706, and again in 1707, he continued to be employed on the same station. Returning from the Straits, with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the end of the latter year, he was detached, on the morning of the 22d of October, for Falmouth, where he arrived in safety. It is not believed that he ever went to sea after this time; and he is said to have been immediately made superintendant of the ships at Chatham,

an office since suppressed, and rendered unnecessary by the modern appointment of port-admiral. He had a handsome pension granted him on his retirement from service; and no person appears to have thought this mark of royal munificence, or public gratitude, improperly or extravagantly bestowed. In the year 1714 he was appointed commissioner of the navy, resident at Plymouth; but did not long enjoy his new office, dying on the 12th of March in the following year.

A LIST OF THE ENGLISH NAVY, AS IT STOOD AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE II.

Rates.	No. of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	16	8,320	1,280	
	24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	24	37,600	1,440	
	40	17,200	2,000	
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	30	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ships	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ship	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, small	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Long-boat	1	2		
Buoy-boat	1			
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
Total	283	64,514	10,082	

CHAP XXIII.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Accession to the Death of King George II.

KING GEORGE II. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the year 1727, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. All the European powers were now at peace, nevertheless, some of them were so little satisfied with the terms to which necessity had compelled them to accede, that a future war was easily foreseen. The late king had engaged in an unnatural alliance with France, and, under a pretence of adjusting the balance of power, had burdened the nation with subsidies to Sweden and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The Emperor Charles VI. for whom we had so lately wrested Sicily from the Spaniards, was now leagued with the court of Madrid; and the political scheme of our ministry, some time before the death of George I. was, to humble this very emperor, in whose cause we had so lately expended such sums of British treasure.

Before I proceed to the occurrences which are the immediate objects of a naval history, it seems necessary to bring the reader acquainted with the men in power at the beginning of this reign. Lord Townshend and the duke of Newcastle were generally supposed to conduct the important concern of foreign negociations. The first of these is allowed to have possessed knowledge and talents equal to the task. As to the latter, he was certainly not a man of great abilities; but he had distinguished himself as a steady

and indefatigable friend to the house of Hanover, and his parliamentary interest was very considerable. Lord Carteret, though not ostensibly in the administration, was frequently consulted, and his advice generally followed. He was a man of some genius and learning, and, having been much abroad, was supposed to be well acquainted with the general system of Europe. The interior government of the kingdom was principally conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at the head of the treasury, and leader of the Whigs in the House of Commons. He was well versed in the mystery of financing, funding, and in the effectual application of money, as a powerful engine of government. He spoke in parliament, though not elegantly, yet with ease, fluency, and persuasion. He knew mankind, and on this knowledge he is said to have laid the foundation of that uniform plan of influence, so very agreeable to subsequent parliaments, and so indispensably useful to future ministers. The principal speakers in the opposition were, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Pultney.

The reader has seen, in the last page of the preceding reign, that the navy of England was, at this period, exceedingly formidable. Our chief naval commanders, who were at this time employed, were Sir Charles Wager, Sir John Norris, and Admiral Hosier: the first commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, the second in the Baltic, and the third in the West Indies, where he died, about two months after the king's accession. Sir Charles Wager had been sent to secure Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards. He afterwards continued upon the coast of Spain, in order to persuade that nation, by the *ultima ratio regum*, if necessary, to acquiesce in the general plan of peace to which the other considerable powers had already acceded. Sir John Norris had been sent with a fleet into the Baltic, with a design to protect Sweden from the Czarina, who threatened

that country with an invasion. And Admiral Hosier had sailed in April 1726, to the West Indies, in order to block up the Spanish galleons, and thereby prevent that treasure from being brought to Europe, without which, it was imagined, the courts of Vienna and Madrid could not prosecute the war.

Such was the situation of the British navy at the accession of George II. who, as I have before observed, found his kingdom at peace with all the world. No immediate change was made, either of ministers or measures; but, before the expiration of the year, Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the Admiralty, and the earl of Westmoreland made first lord of trade.

A new parliament was called. The two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, 1728. The commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, Esq. member for the county of Surrey; a man whose abilities and integrity rendered him singularly qualified for that important office. The king, in his speech from the throne, informed his parliament, that the difficulties which had hitherto prevented the execution of the preliminaries to the establishment of a general peace, were now removed, and that a congress would soon be opened for that purpose, in which he hoped the peace of Europe would be effectually secured; but that, nevertheless, in order to prevent the possibility of an open rupture, it was necessary to continue the preparations for war. He wished that some scheme might be formed for the increase and security of seamen, that they might rather be invited than compelled into the service. He promised economy as soon as the public safety would permit, and concluded his speech, as usual, with recommending unanimity and dispatch. The two houses presented most dutiful addresses on the occasion. They voted 22,955 men for guards and garrisons, and 10,000 seamen for the service of the year. They granted 551,000*l.* for the maintenance of 12,000 Hes-

sians; a subsidy of 50,000*l.* to the king of Sweden, and 25,000*l.* to the duke of Brunswick.

The congress, which met at Soissons to establish peace having yet determined nothing, the fate of Europe remained suspended. Spain had secretly shaken hands with France, and was now allied to Portugal by means of a double marriage; she, therefore, grew indifferent as to peace with England. She continued her depredations on our commerce in the West Indies, where our fleet remained inactive and rotting, and our sailors perished miserably, insulted and unrevenged.

The parliament of England met, according to their prorogation, on the 21st of January, 1729. They voted 15,000 seamen for the service of the year; the number of land forces was also continued, as were likewise the subsidies to foreign princes. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, presented petitions to the House of Commons, complaining of the repeated injuries they had sustained by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies; upon which the house ordered the lords of the Admiralty to produce every similar memorial which they had received; and they addressed the king, praying, that the instructions and letters sent to Admiral Hosier and his successors in command, might be laid before them. A committee of the whole house took this important affair into consideration, and after examining evidence, and amply debating the matter, resolved, that the Spaniards had violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; that they had treated the crews of several English ships with inhumanity; that the instructions given to Admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the Spanish galleons, were just and necessary. The House of Commons then addressed the king, requesting his Majesty to require satisfaction of Spain; and he answered them by a promise to comply with their request.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords deliberated on the

positive demand made by the Catholic king, of the restitution of Gibraltar, founded on the contents of a letter written by King George I. to the king of Spain. From an authentic copy of this letter, it appeared, that his late Majesty had actually consented to this restitution. Their lordships then resolved, that the house did firmly rely, that his Majesty would, in support of the honour and trade of this kingdom, take effectual care to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca.

The year 1730 produced nothing worthy the attention of a naval historian. The king, in his speech to parliament, which met on the 13th of January, informed them, that the peace of Europe was now established by a treaty concluded at Seville; that the uninterrupted commerce of Great Britain was restored; and that the nation was to be amply indemnified for the Spanish depredations in the West Indies. Nevertheless, we find, that on the 2d of March, 1731, several masters and sailors of merchant-ships, who had been taken by the Spanish guarda-costas, came to London, to give an account to parliament of the cruel treatment they had received from the Spaniards.

In 1733, the House of Commons addressed the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations above-mentioned; and, by his Majesty's answer, it appeared, that the commissioners had not yet made their report. In the speech from the throne, which put an end to the preceding session of parliament, the nation was told, that all disputes with foreign powers were settled, and the public tranquillity established. However, twelve ships of the line were put into commission, and press warrants were issued for manning the fleet. Meanwhile, Rear-admiral Stewart demanded of the governors of Campeachy and the Havannah, restitution for three ships plundered by Spanish guarda costas. In consequence of this peremptory demand, one of the guarda-costas was sold at St. Jago de

Cuba, and the money paid to the South-sea factors. One of the Spanish governors was sent home, and another confined in the castle of Cuba.

That we may in some degree preserve the chain of such public events as are connected, though indirectly, with our naval history, it is necessary to inform the reader, that, in the year 1733, the king of France concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which they mutually agreed to declare war against the emperor. Accordingly a war in Germany and in Italy immediately commenced.

In 1734, the navy of England consisted of ninety-two men of war, sixty of which were of the line. This year is likewise remarkable for a peace concluded between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco, by which 140 British subjects were released from slavery. In the following year a misunderstanding, on a frivolous occasion, happening between the courts of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Great Britain for protection; in consequence of which, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet, and arrived at Lisbon on the 9th of June, where he was joyfully received as their deliverer. His Portuguese Majesty, as an expression of his gratitude, gave orders for the fleet to be supplied weekly with one hundred oxen, four hundred sheep, besides abundance of poultry, vegetables, fruit, and eighty pipes of wine.

Regardless of the frequent complaints and remonstrances delivered to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid, the Spaniards in America continued audaciously to insult and molest our commerce. They pretended, that we had no right either to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, or to collect salt on the Island of Tortugas. Their guarda-costas boarded and plundered every English ship they met, under a pretence of searching for contraband goods. They even seized several English vessels, confiscated their cargoes, and threw the sailors into prison. Fired by such reiterated provocation, the people of Eng-

land began now to lose all patience. Petitions to the House of Commons were transmitted from various parts of the kingdom. The house again addressed the king, and the king again returned a promissary answer. It is difficult, even at this distance of time, to reflect with patience on the pusillanimity of the British ministry at this period; nor is it possible to imagine that the Spaniards would have carried their insolence so far, if they had not depended on the pacific disposition of Sir Robert Walpole.* That able minister dreaded the consequences of a war to himself and friends. He had other uses for the treasure which fleets and armies would consume; and, therefore, he left nothing unattempted to avert, or, at least, to procrastinate the storm. For this purpose, he patched up a convention with the court of Spain, importing, that the disputes between the two crowns should be settled by two plenipotentiaries. This convention was severely censured by the opposition, in both houses of parliament. The city of London, the West India merchants, and the merchants of Bristol, presented petitions, justly complaining, that their indisputable right to pass unmolested to and from the British colonies, was, in this convention, left, as a dubitable privilege, to be determined by plenipotentiaries.

The convention above mentioned stipulated, that 95,000*l.* being a balance due from Spain to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, should be paid

* One of the most shocking instances of Spanish insolent barbarity, appeared in the case of Jenkins, master of a Scots merchant ship, who, at the bar of the House of Commons, held his ear in his hand, which had been torn from his head by the crew of a guarda-costas, who declared they would do the same by his master. They tortured him with the most wanton inhumanity, and threatened him with instant death. Being asked by a member, what were his thoughts when he was in the hands of these barbarians? he answered, "I recommended my soul to God, and my case to my country." This evidence made a strong impression on the house.

in London before the expiration of four months after the ratification. The time was now expired, and the money not yet paid. The House of Lords appointed a day for taking the state of the nation into consideration, and when the day arrived, Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that this failure of payment was a high indignity to the king, and an injustice to the nation. The previous question was put, and the motion lost. But though the minister yet retained a sufficient majority in both houses, the nation in general, was too much exasperated to afford any hopes of preventing a war with Spain. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted; the army was augmented; an embargo was laid on all outward-bound vessels; a fleet was assembled at Spithead, and a reinforcement was sent to Admiral Haddock, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean. Our whole fleet in commission consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides thirty-two ready to be put into commission.* The entire navy of Spain amounted to thirty-three ships of war, those of the flota, which are properly merchant ships, included.

Both nations began to make vigorous preparations for war. The court of Spain, at this juncture, revived its alliance by a marriage between the Infant Don Philip, and Madame de France, and the French ministry did not scruple to declare, that if Spain were oppressed by any power whatsoever, they should not remain idle spectators. The States-general, on the other hand, did not scruple to signify by their ministers at the courts of France and Spain, that they

* The ships in commission were,

			Ships ready for commission.		
1	of	90 guns.	2	of	100 guns.
5	—	80	2	—	90
12	—	70	6	—	80
20	—	60	4	—	70
19	—	50	10	—	50 and 60
9	—	44	3	—	44
18	—	20	5	—	20 and 22
84		4236	32		

were under certain mutual engagements to England, which, if required, they thought themselves in honnour obliged to fulfil.

Vice-admiral Vernon sailed on the 20th of July for the West Indies with nine men of war. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the House of Commons by his blunt opposition to the ministry. In the debate concerning the Spanish depredations in the West Indies, he had affirmed, that he could take Porto-Bello with six men of war. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica station, and was, therefore, supposed to be well acquainted with those seas. His offer was echoed by the members in the opposition, and the whole nation resounded his praise. The minister embraced this opportunity of acquiring some popularity, and, at the same time, of removing a troublesome opponent in the House of Commons. Besides, it was generally imagined that he was not without hopes that the admiral might disgrace himself and his party by not succeeding in the adventure. Vernon sailed for the West Indies.

The English fleet cruising on the coast of Spain was particularly intended to intercept the Assogues ships from Vera Cruz. These ships, however, arrived safe at St. Andero. Having received information of the situation of affairs in Europe, instead of coming by the Madeiras for Calais, as usual, they sailed by the Bahamas, and went north about; then steering westward, and doubling the Lizard, they made Ushant, and thence creeping along shore, crossed the Bay of Biscay, and so to St. Andero.

On the 23d day of October, Great Britain declared war against Spain, and, in the same month, intelligence was received that Admiral Haddock had taken two rich ships from the Caracoas, having on board 2,000,000 pieces of eight. He was soon after joined by Admiral Balchin, with six ships of the line.

Vice-admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica the 23d of October, the day on which war was proclaimed in England. On his arrival off Port-Royal in that island, he had the satisfaction to see the Diamond man of war standing into the harbour with two Spanish vessels in tow, one of which was a register ship with one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight, and clothing for six thousand men, on board. The admiral sailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November, with six ships of war.* Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in sight of Porto-Bello till the 20th in the evening. He was apprehensive of driving to the eastward during the night; he therefore anchored about six leagues from shore. Porto-Bello is a town in the Spanish West Indies, so called from the beauty of its harbour. It is situated on the north coast of the Isthmus of Darien, which divides the kingdom of Mexico from Terra Firma. The town stands at the bottom of a small bay, defended by a castle and two forts, one of which, called the Iron Fort, is situated on the north side of the mouth of the harbour, and the other, St. Jeronimo, near the town, with a battery facing the entrance into the bay. The castle, called Gloria, stands on the west side of the town.

On the 21st, in the morning, the admiral weighed and plied to windward in line of battle. The ships entered the bay in the following order: *viz.* The Hampton-Court, Norwich, Worcester, Burford, Strafford, Louisa. Orders had been given for a general attack; but the wind coming to the eastward, the admiral was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which the squadron was piloted by Captain Rentone. When the Hampton-Court came

* *Viz.*

Burford, of	70 guns and 500 men.		
Hampton-Court,	70	495	Capt. Watson.
Worcester,	60	400	Main.
Louisa,	60	400	Waterhouse.
Strafford,	60	400	Trevor.
Norwich,	50	300	Herbert.

within a cable's length of the fort, she was suddenly becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before she could bring her guns to bear, was exposed to a smart fire from the enemy. But as soon as she was in a situation to return the salute, after having dropped her anchor, she seemed, in a moment, a cloud of perpetual thunder. She appeared to the rest of the fleet to be all on fire. In the space of twenty-five minutes she is said to have fired four hundred balls. The Norwich and the Worcester were not long before they came up, and fired upon the fort with vast alacrity. These were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from several parts of the fort, made a signal for landing. Mean while he luffed up as near the fort as possible, and, by means of his small arms, drove the garrison from the lower battery. As the boats full of sailors and marines passed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The sailors were no sooner on shore than they scaled the wall, and pulling up the soldiers after them, struck the Spanish colours in the lower battery, and hoisted an English ensign. This was no sooner perceived by the garrison in the upper part of the fort, than they hoisted a white flag, a signal for capitulation, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison of this fort consisted of three hundred men, out of which, at the time of surrender, there remained only thirty-five privates and five officers.

The ships which sailed in before the admiral, were now fallen to leeward; but the Burford being exposed to Gloria-castle, it continued firing at her till night, without however doing her any other damage than wounding her fore-top-mast a little above the rigging. The admiral then pointed some of his lower-deck guns at this castle, and sent several shot over it into the town, one of which went through the governor's house.

On the morning of the 22d, the admiral called a council of war, and, it being thought not advisable to attack the Gloria castle by day, orders were issued for warping the ships up the following night. This circumspection proved unnecessary. The Spaniards hoisted a white flag, and immediately sent a boat with a flag of truce, with terms on which they wished to capitulate: in answer to these the admiral returned other articles, and allowed them a few hours for deliberation. They accepted his terms,* and the British troops took immediate possession of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts.

* Articles of Capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the West Indies, and Commodore Brown, to Don Francisco Martinez De Retez, governor of Porto-Bello, and Don Francisco De Abarca, commandant of the guarda-costas at the same place, the 22d of November, 1739, O. S.

I. That the garrison be allowed to march out, as desired, upon condition that the king of Great Britain's troops be put into possession of the Gloria-castle before four o'clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o'clock to-morrow morning. That the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects.

II. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard, if they think it necessary.

III. That they may carry off two cannons mounted with ten charges of powder each, and their match lighted.

IV. The gates of the Gloria-castle must absolutely be in possession of the king our master's troops by four o'clock, and the Spanish garrison shall remain in all safety, for their persons and effects, till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety.

V. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of his Britannic Majesty; but that all the officers, soldiers, and crews, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their personal effects, only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the king our master, and to see this article strictly complied with.

VI. That provided the Articles above mentioned are strictly complied with, and that possession is given of the Castle of St. Jeronimo, in the same manner as is stipulated for the Castle Gloria,

There were in the harbour of Porto-Bello two Spanish guarda-costas of twenty guns each, and an armed snow. The crews of these vessels, chusing to anticipate the British sailors, plundered the town in the night, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The English seamen and soldiers, on the contrary, behaved with great decency and humanity after they became possessed of the town; and, as a reward for their moderation and gallantry, the admiral distributed among them ten thousand dollars, which were just arrived in order to pay the Spanish troops. The admiral, having taken on board his fleet all the brass cannon and ammunition found in the several forts, he proceeded to demolish the fortifications; which was completely effected in three weeks, at the expence of one hundred and twenty-two barrels of Spanish gunpowder.* On the 27th of November the Diamond, Captain Knowles, and on the 29th the Windsor, Captain Berkley, and the Anglesea, Captain Reddish, arrived at Porto-Bello, in consequence of orders, left by the admiral at the Leeward Islands, for these ships to follow him. On the 13th of December the admiral, with his squadron, sailed for Jamaica, and on the 28th, being then off Carthagena, he dispatched Captain Rentone, in the Spanish snow, with the news to England.

Admiral Vernon, and the fleet under his command, certainly deserved the honour they acquired by the success of this expedition; nevertheless, it must be confessed, that their easy conquest must be in part

then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties: and that all persons already taken shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.

Given under our hands on board his Majesty's ship Burford, in Porto-Bello harbour, this 22d of November, 1739, O.S.

E. VERNON.
CHA. BROWN.

* The admiral took on board, from the several batteries, 40 pieces of brass cannon, 10 brass field-pieces, 4 brass mortars, 18 brass patereroes, and spiked 80 pieces of iron ordnance.

attributed to the cowardice of the Spaniards in surrendering the first fort before a breach was made, and the other two before they were attacked. The Gloria-castle was garrisoned by four hundred men, and was so regularly fortified that it might have sustained a long siege. Its lower battery had two bastions, and a curtain which mounted twenty-two guns, besides a line of eight guns facing the mouth of the harbour. There were also several other batteries both in the Gloria and St. Jeronimo, in the same direction, which, if properly served, would have rendered the entrance into the harbour exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable.

The taking of Porto-Bello, while it did honour to the British navy, reflected at the same time no inconsiderable degree of praise on the English ministry. There was an evident propriety in punishing the insolence of the Spaniards in the offending part. Porto-Bello was an asylum for the guarda-costas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only service he rendered to his country in the destruction of Porto-Bello. His success enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where some of the factors and servants of the South-Sea Company were confined. He wrote to the president of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and servants were immediately sent to Porto-Bello.

Captain Rentone, in the Triumph sloop, arrived in England on the 12th of March, 1740, with the news of this expedition.* The whole nation became frantic with joy. Congratulatory addresses were presented by parliament, by the cities of London, Bristol, &c. The commons granted every demand of

* The news was known in England before his arrival. On the 11th Mr. Baker, master of Lloyd's Coffee House, waited on Sir R. Walpole with a letter, containing an account of Vernon's success. It was brought from Jamaica by a ship which sailed from thence in company with Captain Rentone; and arrived at Dover a day before him.

the crown. They voted twenty-eight thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and several men of war were added to those already in commission.*

There were at this time two considerable squadrons of English men of war in the Mediterranean; one at Gibraltar, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of twelve sail, and the other on the Minorca station, commanded by Rear-admiral Haddock. But these fleets were only employed in cruising on the coast of Spain and Italy, without any attempt to attack or annoy the enemy, except by now and then seizing a poor defenceless fly that happened unfortunately to fall into their web. The reader needs not to be informed that I allude to the capture of unarmed trading vessels by ships of war. A contemplative mind, reflecting on these maritime depredations, is naturally led to inquire, by what law of nature or of nations, or on what principle of justice, princes at war thus seize the private property of each other's subjects, in ships trading to other kingdoms? This procedure seems more extraordinary when we consider, that their land-forces generally observe a different conduct. A general, in marching through an enemy's country, so far from robbing and imprisoning every peasant he meets, gives positive orders, that the person and property of individuals, not in arms, shall not be molested. He makes war against the prince, and not against the people individually. An admiral, on the contrary, takes every trading vessel he meets, robs the owners of their property, and sends the crew home to be confined as prisoners of war. Here then is a heavy punishment inflicted on persons

* Viz. Colchester, of 80 guns, and 600 men, Capt. Garlington.

Torbay,	80	600	Parker.
Captivity,	80	600	Whorwood.
Pr. Frederick,	70	480	Clinton.
Oxford,	70	480	L. L. Aug. Fitzroy.

Seven fire-ships.

who had neither intention nor power to commit any offence, or in any wise to injure those by whom the punishment is inflicted. I do not obtrude these reflections with any hope of influencing the conduct of the rulers of the earth: reason, justice, and humanity are not the privy-counsellors of kings. But, perhaps, the reader may not totally disregard these counsellors, and will therefore pardon this short interruption of the thread of our history.

We now return to Admiral Vernon, the hero of this period. I have related above, that in the last month of the year 1739, he sailed with his squadron from Porto-Bello to Jamaica. He continued at Port-Royal, in that island, till the 25th of February, 1740, following, on which day he sailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded at intervals during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring some of their churches and convents. What was intended by this bombardment is not very evident. On the tenth of March the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed in line of battle westward along the coast. In passing by Boca Chica, they were saluted with a few shot from three small forts near the mouth of the harbour; but they fell short of the ships. The admiral, having ordered the Windsor and the Greenwich to cruise off Carthagena, proceeded with the rest of his fleet to Porto-Bello, in order to repair the damages sustained by the small craft in the late bombardment. This business being completed, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he sailed on the 22d, and steering south-west along shore, entered the river Chegre, which is but a few leagues distant from Porto-Bello. At the mouth of this river there was a castle, or fort, called St. Lorenzo, under whose protection the guarda-costas used to ride secure. The only two of these Spanish pirates, for they were little better, which now remained on the coast, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the mis-

fortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-top-sail-yard. He was on board the Strafford. This accident obliged him to make a signal for the Norwich to sail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. The Norwich was then commanded by Captain Herbert and the ketches, &c. were conducted by Captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The admiral's ship did not come to an anchor till ten o'clock at night. Far be it from me to insinuate that there was any want of personal courage in Admiral Vernon. But I beg leave to advise all future admirals, to whom such an accident in the fore-top-sail-yard may happen, immediately to hoist their flag on board the leading ship. This, however, does not appear to have been a service of much danger. The castle mounted only eleven brass cannon, and as many patereroes. Nevertheless it sustained a furious bombardment, and a continued cannonade from three of the largest ships in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garrison surrendered, and the fort was immediately possessed by the British troops.*

There were found in the custom-house, on the opposite side of the river, four thousand three hundred bags of Peruvian bark, and other merchandise, which

* Articles of Capitulation between Edward Vernon, Esq. vice-admiral, &c, and Don Juan Carlos Zavellos, captain of foot, &c.

I. That, upon his Britannic Majesty's troops being put in possession of the fort St. Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chegre, the said captain, and all his garrison, be at free liberty to march out without any molestation, and may retire into the village of Chegre, or where else they please.

II. That the inhabitants of Chegre may remain in all safety in their own houses, under a promise of security to their persons and houses.

III. That the guarda-costa sloops be delivered up in the condition they are, and the custom-house.

IV. That the clergy and churches in Chegre shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities.

E. VERNON.

were shipped on board the fleet, together with the brass ordnance above-mentioned. The custom-house was then set on fire, the two guarda-costas destroyed, and the fort entirely demolished; after which, the admiral returned to Porto-Bello, where he arrived on the 1st of April.

Whilst Vernon was thus employed in the West Indies, our fleets in Europe were unemployed. I mean to say, that they achieved nothing against the enemy; for as to employment, they had enough of sailing and counter-sailing, and of fighting too, with adverse winds. On the 23d of July a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line, commanded by Sir John Norris, with two other admirals; *viz.* Sir Chaloner Ogle, and Philip Cavendish, sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, the duke of Cumberland serving on board as a volunteer. But the wind shifting, they were obliged, after being three days at sea, to put back into Torbay. On the 4th of August they sailed again, with the wind at north-east, and on the following day were within a few leagues of the Lizard; but on the 6th it blew so violently from the west, that they were obliged once more to return to Torbay. On the 22d they made a third attempt; and after five days obstinate contention with tempestuous and contrary winds, were a third time forced to return to the same place. What was the destination of this fleet remains a matter of doubt. Probably the Spanish squadron, at that time at Ferrol, was the object. But, be the design whatsoever it might, it was now relinquished, and the admiral, with the duke of Cumberland, returned to London. Thus began, and thus ended, the naval history of his royal highness, who probably concluded, from this inauspicious essay, that he had mistaken his element.

In this year the celebrated Commodore Anson began his voyage to the South-Seas. He sailed from St. Helen's with five men of war on the 18th of September. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle

sailed for the West Indies with twenty-one ships of the line, and a considerable body of land-forces, commanded by Lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which consisted of a hundred and seventy-sail, had scarcely taken its departure from the Land's-end, before it was scattered and dispersed by a violent tempest. The admiral nevertheless pursued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral island of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this island the expedition sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer, who died of a dysentery. The command of the land-forces now devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of very moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamaica, sailing near the Island of Hispaniola, discovered four large ships of war. He made signal for an equal number of his squadron to give them chace. The chace refused to bring to, and Lord Augustus Fitzroy, who commanded the English detachment, gave one of them a broadside, and an engagement ensued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoisted French colours, and consequently the firing ceased, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the mistake, and parted but with loss of men on both sides.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica on the 9th of January, 1741, where he joined Admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with a considerable number of frigates, bomb-ketches, fireships, &c. The number of seamen was about fifteen thousand, and that of the land-forces at least twelve thousand, including four battalions raised in America, and five hundred negroes from Jamaica. This very formidable armament, doubtless the most tremendous that ever appeared in those seas, was certainly equal to any attempt against the

Spanish settlements. Their treasure might have been intercepted, and their colonies easily reduced. But the complete humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumstances. The British ministry, for reasons best known to themselves, detained the fleet at Spithead much too long. For the credit of human nature, I am willing to believe, that the prime minister was not so exceedingly wicked as to endeavour, by retarding the fleet, to frustrate the expedition: and yet, to the disgrace of human nature, I fear there have been instances of ministers so diabolical as to be influenced by very ignoble passions, in opposition to the interest and dignity of the nation, with whose weal they were intrusted. It seems, however, a safe maxim in politics, not to commit the management of a war to a minister who shall have repeatedly declared his disapprobation of the measure. But be the designs of the minister what they might, it is scarcely possible to suppose that the admiral was not hearty in the cause; and yet it was near the end of January before he sailed from Jamaica, though he certainly was not ignorant that the season was already too far advanced, in a climate where the rains, which begin about the end of April, render it impossible for troops to keep the field.

I must here take occasion to observe, that the admiral's orders were discretionary: he might therefore have made his attack on any of the Spanish settlements. The Havannah, which was certainly an object of the greatest importance, lay to leeward, and might easily have been reached in less than three days. Nevertheless, Mr. Vernon thought fit to beat against the wind to Hispaniola, with an intention as it was said, to observe the French fleet. On the 15th of February he learnt, that this fleet had sailed for Europe, having previously sent an advice-boat to Carthagena, to inform the Spaniards of Vernon's being in those seas. The admiral called a council of

war, and it was determined to land on the continent of New Spain. Accordingly, after spending some days in taking in wood and water at Hispaniola, the fleet sailed, and, on the 4th of March, came to an anchor in a bay called Playa Granda, to windward of Carthagena. This fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-four sail, the sight of which must have struck such terror into the Spaniards, that nothing but want of resolution and dispatch could have prevented its success. There cannot be a truer maxim in the art of war, "Than, that hesitation in the assailant inspires the defendant with courage, which augments progressively in proportion to the delay." But the commanders of this fleet and army, as if determined to give the enemy time to recover from their surprise, remained inactive in the bay till the 9th. On that day the first division of the fleet, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, followed by Admiral Vernon with all the transports, moved forwards towards the entrance of the harbour called Boca Chica, which was defended by several formidable batteries. The third division, commanded by Commodore Lestock, remained at anchor. The Norfolk, the Russel, and the Shrewsbury anchored very near two forts called St. Jago and St. Philip, which being silenced in less than an hour, were immediately possessed by a detachment of British grenadiers.

On the 10th, the two regiments of Harrison and Wentworth, with six regiments of marines, landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, where, having pitched their tents, they began to erect a battery against the castle of Boca Chica. Five days more were employed in landing the artillery and necessary stores. But General Wentworth's want of knowledge in the art of war, soon discovered itself in the choice of his ground; for the tents were no sooner pitched, than the soldiers found themselves exposed to the fire of a fascine battery from the opposite side of the harbour, on the island of Varu. To remedy this evil, the ad-

miral immediately detached a considerable number of sailors under the command of Captain Boscawen, who landed about a mile to leeward of the battery, which mounted fifteen twenty-four pounders, under a raised battery of five guns. These intrepid sons of Neptune soon gained possession of both batteries, and, having spiked the cannon, returned to their ships.

On the 22d, General Wentworth opened a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders against the castle of Boca Chica, and the next day, Commodore Lestock, with five ships, was ordered to attack it by sea. He renewed his attack on the 24th, and on that day fell Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a very brave and experienced officer. Meanwhile the Spaniards had remounted their fascine battery, which was a second time destroyed by a detachment of sailors. A small breach being now made on the land-side of Boca Chica castle, the general acquainted the admiral with his resolution to storm it, who, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, manned his boats under the command of Captain Knowles. The sailors landed near the castle, and there waited for the general assault. The grenadiers, on the other side, marched up in good order; but they no sooner began to mount the breach, than the garrison fled without firing a single musket. The garrison of another fort, called St. Joseph, followed their example, and our sailors took immediate possession of it. Emboldened by this success, and perceiving the enemy preparing to sink their ships, they boarded the Spanish admiral's ship, the Galicia, on board of which they found the captain and sixty men. There were in the harbour, when the attack of Boca Chica began, six Spanish men of war, two of which were now sunk, and one burnt by the Spaniards themselves. The sailors then proceeded to cut the boom, and thus opened a free passage for our ships into the lake. Next morning the fleet entered

without molestation, but the wind blowing fresh and contrary, it was several days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town. This entrance was defended by a considerable fortress, called Castillo Grande, mounting fifty-nine guns, which the enemy abandoned as soon as the ships approached.

Thus far all went well. The castles, forts, and batteries, which commanded the lake, were now in possession of the English. The entrance into this lake was doubtless an enterprise of no small danger and difficulty, the channel being commanded by two hundred cannon, those from the enemy's ships included. So far, the admiral seems to have done every thing necessary on his part, by removing all obstacles in the way to conquest; and he was so confident of succeeding, that, on the 1st of April, he sent an express to the duke of Newcastle, with an account of his progress; on the receipt of which, his grace, with the rest of the people of England, became frantic with joy and exultation. But with pain I proceed to record, that here our success ended. The next express brought a tale as humbling as the former was triumphant. On this luckless 1st of April, the sailors having opened a channel through the sunken wrecks of the enemy, the bomb-ketches, covered by two frigates, entered the harbour, and were, on the succeeding day, followed by three fire-ships, which were so posted as to cover the intended landing of the troops. The Weymouth, Captain Knowles, got into the harbour on the 3d, and on the 5th, early in the morning, the troops began to land at a place called La Quinta from whence General Wentworth, at the head of fifteen hundred men, pushed forward through a narrow defile, to an open ground about a mile from Fort St. Lazar, which fort entirely commanded the town of Carthagena. He met with some interruption in his march from a body of six or seven hundred Spaniards, and lost a few of his men; but the enemy

soon retired, and, in the evening of the 6th, the remainder of the English army were disembarked, and, having joined their general, the whole encamped on the plain above-mentioned.

Fort St. Lazar, the only remaining fortress, was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. The general was of opinion, that any attempt to take it without regular approaches would be attended with much danger and difficulty. The admiral, on the contrary, was positive that it was practicable by escalade. From this time the demon of discord presided in their councils, and they began to entertain a sovereign contempt for each other's opinions. The general upbraided the admiral for not cannonading the town, and the latter reproached the former for not storming the fort. It was at length resolved in a council of war to attack St. Lazar by storm, the season being now too far advanced to allow time for erecting a battery of cannon in order to open a breach. In consequence of this resolution, on the 9th, before break of day, Brigadier-general Guise, with twelve hundred men, marched to the attack. Unfortunately his guides were slain before he reached the walls. His scaling-ladders, being applied at random, proved too short. The officers were disconcerted for want of orders. A general confusion ensued, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loss of six hundred men killed or wounded. By this time the rains began to fall very heavily, and disease became so universal in the camp, that it was determined in a council of war to relinquish every idea of a farther attempt. The remnant of the army retired to their ships, and were re-embarked on the 16th. The admiral, in order to clear himself from any imputation of neglect, and to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place with ships after the successless attack on St. Lazar, having previously converted the Spanish admiral's ship, Galicia, into a floating battery, warped her into the harbour as near

to the town as possible In this station she fired upon the town for some hours; but it appearing that she was at too great a distance to injure the walls, she was suffered to drive, and soon struck upon the sand. This experiment, how plausible soever it might seem, was by no means allowed to be satisfactory. An historian, Dr. Smollett, who was present, affirms, that in another part of the harbour there was space and water sufficient for four or five men of war to lie within pistol-shot of the walls of Carthagena. If this be true, the admiral was certainly inexcusable for not bringing his ships to bear upon the town during the attack upon St. Lazar.

The shattered remnant of this ill-fated army having returned to their ships, diseases, peculiar to the climate, raged with inconceivable malignity, and many brave men who had escaped the enemy died in their hammocks. The jarring chieftains were unanimous as to the expediency of retiring from this scene of destruction and disgrace. A few days were spent in destroying the forts already taken, and then the fleet sailed for Jamaica.

As the rational design of historical writings is not merely to gratify the reader's curiosity, but rather to exhibit examples of vice and folly, virtue and sagacity, for his occasional abhorrence or imitation, I shall endeavour to point out the causes of the miscarriage of this important expedition. Some future commander of an attack upon Carthagena may possibly deem this investigation worthy of his attention.

The old adage, that, 'A bad beginning commonly produces a bad ending,' is more frequently verified in the catastrophe of naval expeditions, than in any other species of human transactions. It is always in the power of a malignant prime minister to frustrate the best-concerted attempt, if he be influenced by passions or policy to wish that it may not succeed; and I fear there have been very few prime ministers

so uninterestedly dispassionate, as sincerely to wish the success of measures adopted in opposition to their advice. Sir Robert Walpole's consent to a war with Spain, was evidently an involuntary compliance with the clamour of opposition, and of the nation in general. The fleet was not only unnecessarily retarded at Spithead, but the troops which were put on board, were raw and undisciplined. The fleet ought certainly to have sailed, at least, a month earlier; for though there might be barely time to execute the plan proposed, naval expeditions are, in their nature, liable to so many causes of delay, that they will not admit of nice calculation in point of time. But if this ministerial delay was inexcusable, what shall we say of the dilatory proceedings of the admiral, who was certainly better acquainted with the climate.

From the above account of this unsuccessful expedition we learn, that our fleet and army were no sooner in possession of all the forts which defended the lake, than the admiral and general began to quarrel; their animosity daily increased, and their mutual contempt became at last so excessive, that the glorious cause in which they were engaged seemed less the object of their attention, than the means of effecting each other's disgrace. But the mischief did not end with the commanders: each had his separate cabal, and the spirit of discord was diffused through the whole fleet and army. This fatal and childish misunderstanding is an evident proof that both the admiral and general, to say no worse of them, were weak men. If either of them had possessed the soul of a great commander, he would not have suffered the folly of the other to ruin an enterprise of such importance. Fools, it is true, are sometimes obstinate; but it is seldom difficult for dispassionate wisdom to flatter them into compliance; and certainly, on such an occasion, somewhat of punctilio should have been sacrificed to patriotism.

The attack upon St. Lazar was certainly absurd,

and the hope of succeeding was doubtless founded solely on the facility with which the other forts had been possessed. This was a false conclusion; for that facility had rendered this fortress more formidable by an accumulation of troops. But in order to give the least degree of probability to the success of this attack, the admiral ought at the same time to have cannonaded and bombarded the town with all the power of his fleet. He might certainly have brought more ships into the harbour, and they might with safety have come up much nearer to the walls. When the French took Carthagena in 1697, the firing from the ships contributed essentially to their success; but they landed a considerable train of artillery, with which they made a breach in the walls of the town, and then bravely fought their way into it. I also beg leave to remind the reader, that, in the year 1740, Admiral Vernon bombarded the town of Carthagena from the sea. As therefore he had now so many ships more than he wanted, why did he not leave some of them on the coast, with orders to cooperate with the fleet in the harbour and the army, in the moment of a general attack? Upon the whole, Wentworth appears to have done all in his power, and his troops do not seem in any wise to have disgraced their country; but, alas! the resolutions by which they had the misfortune to be directed, were the result of jarring deliberations among the incongruous inhabitants of different elements. The general might be culpable in not treating the admiral with that degree of respect which his late victory gave him some reason to expect; but the latter was certainly inexcusable in not assisting the former in the reduction of the town. This conduct in the admiral will appear exceedingly reprehensible, if, upon a careful survey of the forts and harbour, it should appear, that, after the reduction of the several fortresses commanding the lake, the town might be reduced by a fleet, without the assistance of a land-army: and

the truth of this supposition seems so extremely probable, that I verily believe Vernon would have taken it, if the troops had never been landed, or if there had been no troops to assist him in the attempt. It is evident that the town of Carthagena may be easily bombarded both from the sea and from the harbour; and it is equally certain, that no town in which there are any number of opulent inhabitants, will sustain that species of destructive insult for any length of time; they will rise upon the garrison, and oblige them to capitulate.

Be this as it may, though the English sailors and soldiers were disappointed of their expected spoils of the enemy, they retired with the satisfaction of having done the Spaniards great injury in the destruction of many considerable fortifications, in spiking a number of cannon, and in annihilating six men of war and six galleons, besides many other vessels.

Let us now follow the English fleet to Jamaica, where it arrived on the 19th of May. The climate of this island did not contribute much towards the recovery of the sick, many of whom died after their arrival; among the rest Lord Augustus Fitzroy, captain of the Orford. Vernon, on his arrival at Jamaica, having received orders from England to retain in the West Indies no more ships than were necessary, sent home several men of war under the command of Commodore Lestock.* The remainder of his fleet were deemed quite sufficient; there being, at this time, but one Spanish squadron at the Havannah, and a small French fleet at Hispaniola. It is very certain that the admiral was so exceedingly dissatisfied with his colleague Wentworth, that he ardently wished to return to England; but the king had conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, and the letters which the admiral received

* These were, the Carolina, Russel, Norfolk, Shrewsbury, Amelia, Torbay, Chichester, Hampton-Court, Burford, Windsor, and Falmouth; besides five frigates.

from the duke of Newcastle were so extremely flattering, that he determined to continue in his station. On the 26th of May, he called a general council of war, the members of which were himself, Sir Chaloner Ogle, General Wentworth, General Guise, and Governor Trelawny. The four first of these gentlemen were unanimous in opinion, that St. Jago on the Island of Cuba was the proper object of attack. Governor Trelawny, on the contrary, thought Cuba of little importance, and strenuously advised an expedition against Panama on the Isthmus of Darien. The governor, however, acquiesced, and raised a corps of a thousand negroes, which were put on board the fleet with all possible expedition.

This armament, which sailed from Jamaica on the first of July, consisted of eight ships of the line, one of 50 guns, 12 frigates, &c.* and about forty transports, on board of which, including blacks, were 8400 land forces. The fleet came to an anchor on the 18th, in Walthenham harbour, on the south side of the isle of Cuba. The admiral, fully determining to annex for ever this fine island to the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, began by changing the name of *Walthenham* into that of *Cumberland* harbour, in compliment to his royal highness the duke. With

* *Viz.*

VICE-ADMIRAL VERNON.

Frigates.			Guns.
Shoreham,	Chester,	Captain Long	50
Alderney,	Grafton,	Rycaut	70
Strombolo,	Boyne, (Admiral)	Watson	80
Phaeton,	Worcester,	Cleland	60
Bonetta,	Tilbury,	Dent	60
Princess Royal,			
Pompey,			
Triton.			

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR CHALONER OGLE.

Experiment,	Kent,	Mitchel	70
Sheerness,	Cumberland (Adm.)	Norris	80
Vesuvius,	Tyger,	Herbert	60
Scarborough.	Montague,	Chambers	60

submission to commanders of fleets, invading an enemy's country, I should think it most advisable to avoid this parade of giving names to places which were named before, unless they are perfectly certain of being able to maintain their conquest; because the spurious appellation, after their departure, will be recollected only as a memorandum of their disgrace. This harbour, howsoever called, was a very capacious and secure asylum against the hurricanes so frequent in the West Indies at this season of the year: it was therefore a desirable possession, particularly as it was acquired without molestation. The island of Cuba is not only the largest of the Antilles, but it is also said to be the most fruitful and healthy of any in the West Indies.

There were, at this time, twelve Spanish ships of the line at the Havannah, a populous city on the west side of the island, where the governor resides, and where there were strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. For these reasons, though the conquest of the whole island was ultimately intended, it was thought advisable to begin with St. Jago, a less considerable city on the eastern coast. Walthenham harbour lies about eleven leagues south-west from St. Jago, and distant by land about sixty miles, on which side the city is almost entirely defenceless. Its fortifications to the sea were not formidable, but the entrance into the harbour is so extremely narrow, and the navigation so dangerous, that nature has sufficiently secured it from a naval attack. On these considerations it was resolved, in a general council of war, held on board the admiral, on the 20th of July, to land the troops immediately, and take the city of St. Jago by surprise.

The troops were accordingly disembarked, and meeting with no opposition, marched some miles up the country, and encamped on the banks of a navigable river. From this encampment General Wentworth detached several reconnoitring parties, which

falling in with small bodies of the enemy, repulsed them with very little loss on either side. One of these reconnoitring parties, consisting of 150 Americans and negroes, commanded by Major Dunster, penetrated as far as the village of Elleguava, where he continued some time; but not being supported by the main army, he returned to the camp. Meanwhile Admiral Vernon dispatched part of his fleet to block up the port of St. Jago, and to watch the motions of the Spanish admiral at the Havannah, expecting with the utmost impatience the progress of the army. But, on the 5th of October, he had the mortification to receive a letter from General Wentworth, expressing his doubts of being able either to advance farther, or even to subsist his army much longer in the part which they then possessed. On the 9th the general called a council of war, the members of which were unanimously of opinion, that it was impossible to march farther into the country, without exposing the troops to certain ruin. The army, nevertheless, continued in its encampment till the 7th of November, when another council of war, consisting of the land-officers only, resolved, that the troops ought to be re-embarked with all possible expedition; and they were accordingly put on board their transports on the 20th, without the least molestation from the enemy. During this expedition, the Worcester, Defiance, Shoreham, and Squirrel, took several valuable prizes, which were, however, but of little consequence, when compared with the expence of the armament.

Thus ended the anticipated conquest of the isle of Cuba, the inhabitants of which were, from the incomprehensible conduct of the British troops, at last persuaded that they landed without any hostile intentions. The good people of England grew extremely dissatisfied, impatient of news, and astonished at the cautious inactivity of General Wentworth. But the people of England, who reason only from appearance, and are guided solely by common sense, are very in-

competent judges of the actions of great generals and great ministers. A general, though absolute at the head of his army, is a mere instrument in the hands of the prime minister, and must fight or not fight according to his private instructions. Some of the politicians, of the period of which I am now writing, were of opinion, that our making conquests in the West Indies was disagreeable to France, and that a French war was to be avoided at all events: others did not scruple to insinuate, that the minister did all in his power to frustrate every attempt in the prosecution of a war into which he had been forced by the opposition; and a third class of people attributed this miscarriage entirely to the general's want of skill and resolution. Whatsoever might be the real cause of this very extraordinary supineness in the British troops, there are very few incidents in history which afford more apparent foundation for censure. St. Jago, which was not above four days march, for light troops, from Cumberland harbour, was in a great measure defenceless on the land side, and therefore might have been easily surprised. There was no army in the country to oppose an enemy, therefore why it was not immediately attempted is very difficult to conceive; unless we suppose that the officers had no inclination to make conquests in so fatal a climate, where, if they had succeeded, they would have been left in garrison. As to their resolution of returning to their ships, after remaining four months on the island, it was certainly proper; for by this time their number was so exceedingly decreased by the diseases of the climate, that probably, in another month, there would scarcely have been a man left to bring home the tale of their disasters.

When we consider the number of men sacrificed to the climate in this, and in the preceding attempt against Carthagena, one cannot help wishing, if humanity be admissible in politics, that future ministers would not wantonly transport so many thousands of

Europeans to a climate where it is almost impossible for them to exist. Possibly the political system of Great Britain may sometimes require such sacrifices; but one would hope, that nothing but the most inevitable necessity would authorize such destruction of the human species.

Before we quit this expedition, we cannot avoid inquiring into the design of it. That General Wentworth did not act his part in the reduction of St. Jago is pretty evident. But suppose that town had been taken, what then? Would the island have fallen in consequence? By no means. The Havannah was strongly fortified, well garrisoned, and defended by twelve ships of the line: so that any idea of reducing the whole island seems to be entirely out of the question. What possible advantage could therefore result from taking St. Jago? It may be answered, That a reinforcement of 2000 marines was expected from England. This supply, however, was a precarious expectation. They did not arrive at Jamaica till the 15th of January: and had they even arrived two months sooner, the army would still have been inadequate to the reduction of the Havannah, and consequently insufficient to conquer the island, or even to maintain their ground for any length of time; and yet the heroes of this expedition were so confident of success, that they not only entered upon it by giving English names to the enemy's harbours and rivers, but they actually invited new settlers from North America, and promised them grants of land.

From these considerations it follows, that, though General Wentworth may be justly censured for performing nothing, yet all he could possibly have done would have answered no rational purpose; and the expedition was no less injudiciously planned than pusillanimously executed.

The troops were re-embarked on the 20th of November, and on the 25th it was resolved in a general council of war, that the general, with the troops un-

der his command should return to Jamaica, and that the fleet should continue to cruize off Hispaniola in search of the expected reinforcement from England. The transports sailed on the 28th, and the admiral on the 6th of December, with the remaining squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line, a fire-ship, an hospital-ship, and two tenders. But before we take an entire leave of Cuba, it is necessary, in justice to the navy, to inform the reader, that, whilst the troops were on shore, the fleet was not quite inactive. The Worcester took a Spanish man of war of 24 guns, the Defiance took a register ship laden with provisions for Carthagena, and the Shoreham took another vessel with 70,000 pieces of eight on board.

Having closed the naval transactions of the year 1741, in the West Indies, I must recall the reader's attention to the progress of Mr. Anson, who, I before mentioned, had sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th September, 1740, with a squadron of five men of war, a small sloop, and two victuallers.* This expedition was originally planned prior to the declaration of war with Spain, and was rationally founded on a design of seizing the wealth of that kingdom at its source, and thereby depriving the enemy of the means of executing their hostile intentions. There were indeed at first two separate fleets destined for this service; one of which was to have been commanded by Mr. Cornwall, and the other by Mr. Anson. The first was to have sailed round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and the other directly to the East Indies. These two squadrons were to have met at Manilla, where they were to expect farther orders. This pro-

	Guns.	Men.	
* The Centurion,	60	400	Geo. Anson commander,
Gloucester,	50	300	Richard Norris,
Severn,	50	300	Edward Legge,
Pearl,	40	250	Matthew Mitchell,
Wager,	28	160	Danby Kidd,
Tyrell,	8	100	Hon. Geo. Murray.

ject seemed well calculated to humble the pride and insolence of Spain; because their remote settlements were, at this time, almost entirely defenceless, and several of the most important of them might probably have been surprised before they had intelligence of a war between the two nations. The original scheme, however, was laid aside, and it was determined that one squadron only should be sent to the South Seas, of which Mr. Anson should have the command.

This deviation from the original plan was no less displeasing to Mr. Anson than to Sir Charles Wager, by whom it was first proposed, and who was equally ignorant of the reasons which induced the ministry to lay it aside. However, on the 10th of January Mr. Anson received his commission as commodore of the squadron above-mentioned. The king's instructions were dated the 31st of the same month, which, nevertheless, Mr. Anson did not receive before the 28th of June following. He then went down to Portsmouth, where his squadron lay, in full expectation of sailing with the first fair wind; for though he knew that he was at least 300 men short of his complement, he had been assured that the deficiency would be supplied from Sir John Norris's fleet then at Spithead. But Sir John did not chuse to part with any of his sailors. This disappointment was another cause of delay, and all that Mr. Anson could at last obtain was 170 men, ninety-eight of whom were marines, and thirty-two from the hospitals.

According to the first plan, Bland's entire regiment of foot and three independent companies were to have embarked on board this fleet. But it was afterwards resolved, that the land forces should consist of 500 out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, of which only 259 of the most feeble were embarked, all those who were able to walk having deserted. On such occasions it is not easy to determine which most to execrate, the heads or hearts of those who are intrusted with the management of public affairs. It surely requires a

very moderate degree of understanding to know that such troops, so far from being serviceable, must necessarily prove a burdensome obstruction to the success of an expedition, which, from its nature, required health, strength, and vigour, in their utmost degree of perfection. As to heart, can any thing be imagined more inhuman, than treacherously to drag from their peaceful habitations, and from the enjoyment of the scanty reward of past services, a number of decrepid old men, conscious of their inability to render further service to their country, and certain of an inglorious catastrophe? To supply the place of the 240 invalids who had deserted, 210 marines, newly raised and totally undisciplined, were ordered on board, the last detachment of which embarked on the 8th of August, and on the 10th the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a fair wind.

If Mr. Anson's squadron had now been suffered to proceed, he might have gone down the channel with the tides without waiting for a fair wind: but the Lords Justices, the king being then at Hanover, ordered him to sail from St. Helen's in conjunction with the two fleets commanded by Admiral Balchen and Sir Chaloner Ogle, amounting, in all, to 145 sail. Now it being impossible for so numerous a fleet to proceed, with safety, without an easterly wind, forty days more were spent in hourly expectation of a favourable breeze. At last, on the 9th of September, Mr. Anson received orders to proceed with his own squadron, independently of the rest. He sailed on the 18th, and in four days got clear of the channel.

I have dwelt a little upon this very extraordinary delay, and its several causes, because to this very unaccountable conduct of administration may rationally be ascribed the many hardships, dangers, and disappointments experienced in the progress of this expedition. It seems indeed exceedingly inconceivable, that an expedition appointed early in the month of

January, should not have proceeded till late in September. But so it was, and the consequences were such as might easily have been foreseen. The squadron was not only, by this delay, obliged to double Cape Horn in the most tempestuous season of the year, but the Spaniards, in every part of the globe, were informed of its destination.

Having cleared the channel, Mr. Anson steered for the island of Madeira; but, as if all nature as well as art had conspired to retard his progress, he was forty days on a passage which is frequently made in ten. However, at last, after this tedious contention with adverse winds, he arrived at Madeira on the 25th of October. He immediately visited the governor, who informed him, that for several days past there had appeared to the westward of the island seven or eight men of war, which he supposed to be Spanish. Mr. Anson dispatched a sloop to reconnoitre this squadron, and the sloop returned without any intelligence. This was in truth a Spanish squadron of seven ships of the line and a Pattache, which were sent for the sole purpose of counteracting Mr. Anson's operations in the South Seas. They had on board a regiment of foot, intended to strengthen some of their garrisons, and two of the ships were destined for the West-Indies. Their commodore was Don Joseph Pizarro. Of the five ships that sailed for the South Seas, but one returned to Europe, the rest having either foundered at sea, or were wrecked or broken up in the course of the voyage.

On the 3d of November Mr. Anson left Madeira, and crossed the line on the 28th. He arrived at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, on the 21st of December, where he repaired such of his ships as had suffered in the voyage, took in wood and water, regaled his people with fresh provisions, and recovered some of his sick. But he neither found the climate so healthy, nor the Portuguese so hospitable, as represented by former voyagers. The governor of

the island perfidiously dispatched a vessel to the Spanish admiral, then at Buenos-Ayres, with an account of Mr. Anson's strength and condition, during his continuance in this neutral port.

The squadron sailed from St. Catherine's on the 18th of January, steering southward along the coast of America, towards Cape Horn. In so hazardous a voyage, at this season of the year, it was more than probable that the fleet would be separated, the commodore therefore appointed three several places of rendezvous: the first at St. Julian on the coast of Patagonia, the second at the island of Socoro in the South-seas, and the third at Juan Fernandez. Soon after their departure from St Catherine's, the Pearl was separated, and did not rejoin the squadron till near a month after. On her return Lieutenant Salt informed Mr. Anson, that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January; that he had fallen in with the Spanish fleet above-mentioned, and that, mistaking one of their ships for the Centurion, he very narrowly escaped being taken. The English squadron anchored in the harbour of St. Julian on the 18th of February, principally with a design to repair the Tryal sloop, which had lost her main mast in a squall. This business being finished, they sailed again on the 27th, and passed the Straits Le Maire on the 7th of March.

At this time their ships were in good condition, and their crews in tolerable health and spirits. They flattered themselves, that as they were now entering into the Pacific Ocean, their dangers and difficulties would gradually vanish, and that Spanish treasures would soon reward their labour. But delusive were these expectations. They did not even clear the Straits without great danger, and they no sooner quitted the land than they found themselves exposed to all the horrors of impetuous winds, and waves turbulent and mountainous beyond all conception. They now began emphatically to execrate the causes of

their late departure from Europe. This formidable squadron soon separated, never more to unite! After struggling with infinite variety of distress during two long months, the Centurion, Mr. Anson's ship on the last day of April, found herself to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, and therefore concluded that she had secured her passage round Cape Horn. On the 8th of May she arrived off Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She cruised there, in extreme bad weather, above a fortnight, in hopes of rejoining some of the squadron; but being disappointed in that expectation, stood for the island of Juan Fernandez, where she arrived on the 9th of June; but in so feeble a condition, that at this time not above twenty hands, officers included, were left capable of assisting in working the ship. The scurvy had made such terrible havock among the crew, that out of 450, their complement when they passed Strait Le Maire, scarcely half that number were now living, and most of these were sick in their hammocks. The Tryal sloop reached the island about the same time, in the same distressful situation, and they were joined by the Gloucester on the 23d of July, which ship had lost three fourths of her crew, and would certainly never have been able to reach the island, but for the assistance sent her by the commodore after she was in sight. The Anna Pink, their victualler, came in about the middle of August, and this was the last ship of the squadron they ever saw.

The missing ships were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The two first parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils. The latter pursued her voyage towards the island of Socoro. She made the land on the western coast of South America, on the 14th of May, in latitude 47, and the next morning struck upon a sunken rock, and soon after bulged. Most of the crew were landed on this desolate island, where they remained five months, and then about eighty of the sailors, in a schooner,

built by lengthening the long-boat, sailed back for the Brazils, leaving Captain Cheap and nineteen other persons on shore. These were by various accidents at last reduced to four, who were landed by an Indian on the coast of Chiloe, thence conveyed to St. Jago, where they continued a year, and three of them were finally sent to Europe on board a French ship; *viz.* Captain Cheap, Mr., afterwards Admiral Byron, and Mr. Hamilton.

We now return to Mr. Anson's squadron at Juan Fernandez, consisting of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna Pink. The last of these being found totally unfit for service, was broken up. By the beginning of September the crews were pretty well recovered, though the whole number was, by this time, reduced to 335, boys included.

On the 19th of September, Mr. Anson with his small squadron sailed from the island of Juan Fernandez, with a design to cruise near the continent of Spanish America. On this cruise he took three trading vessels of no great value; but from the passengers on board he received such intelligence as determined him to surprise the town of Paita, in latitude 50° 12′ south. It consisted of about 200 houses, and was defended by a small fort mounting eight guns. Fearful of alarming the inhabitants by the approach of his ships, he resolved to make the attempt by means of his boats only. While the squadron was yet at too great a distance to be perceived by the enemy, about ten at night he detached fifty-eight men, commanded by Lieutenant Brett, and conducted by two Spanish pilots. They landed without opposition, and soon took entire possession of the place. The governor, with most of the inhabitants, having had some previous notice from the ships in the harbour, fled into the country at their approach, and continued parading on the hills. The English remained three days on shore; during which

time they sent all the treasure they could find on board their ships. They then set fire to the town and re-embarked, having lost only two men in the enterprise. The booty they carried off amounted to about 30,000*l.* The loss sustained by the Spaniards was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

While Mr. Anson was thus engaged, the Gloucester, which had been sent on a cruise, took two Spanish prizes with specie on board amounting to 19,000*l.* sterling. She joined the squadron two days after their departure from Paita, and they stood to the northward with a design to water at the island of Quibo, near the Bay of Panama. At this island they arrived on the 4th of December. The commodore had indeed entertained some hopes of being reinforced from Admiral Vernon's squadron across the Isthmus of Darien; but he learnt, from the papers found on board one of his prizes, that the attack upon Carthagena had failed. These hopes therefore immediately vanished, and he now determined to steer for the coast of Mexico, in expectation of falling in with the galleon which he supposed to be on her passage from Manilla to Acapulco. The squadron sailed from Quibo on the 12th of December, and did not make the coast of Mexico till the 29th of January. But, as this brings us to the transactions of the year 1742, we must now return to Europe, in order to take a view of the British navy nearer home to the end of the year 1741.

Whilst Vernon and Anson were thus employed in America, the admirals Sir John Norris and Haddock commanded two formidable fleets in Europe. The first of these commanders sailed from Spithead on the 27th of July with sixteen ships of the line, and, steering for the Bay of Biscay, began to cruise upon the coast of Spain. With this formidable fleet he might with the utmost facility have injured the enemy most essentially, by ravaging their coast and destroying their maritime towns, which were almost totally de-

fenceless. Not only the British nation in general, but the Spaniards themselves, and every person on board, except the admiral, were confident that so powerful a fleet had some capital object in view. But, to the astonishment of all the world, except those who were admitted behind the curtain, in less than a month, Sir John Norris returned to Spithead with half his fleet, without having executed, or even attempted, any thing worth relating. Part of the squadron continued cruising on the Spanish coast, and the Nassau and Lenox were sent to join Admiral Haddock, who, with thirteen men of war, spent the whole summer cruising in the Mediterranean, without achieving any thing sufficient to furnish a tolerable gazette. The causes assigned for his being stationed in that sea were, to prevent the junction of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz with that of France at Toulon, and to intercept the troops which were intended to be transported from Barcelona to Italy, in order to act against the queen of Hungary. But unfortunately neither of these purposes were answered.

What were the private instructions given to Norris and Haddock will probably always remain a secret. Their respective characters as men of abilities and resolution stand unimpeached; but abilities and resolution are not sufficient to complete the character of a naval commander. Probity is an indispensable ingredient. The man who is mean enough to accept of a command with ignominious restrictions, merits the obloquy which posterity will never fail to bestow.

On the 12th of October Sir John Norris sailed again for the coast of Spain with a fleet of ten men of war. The inhabitants of the towns along the shore were at first a little alarmed at his re-appearance; but, finding him now no less harmless than before, they beheld the English fleet as an agreeable spectacle, and were at length fully persuaded that he

was sent to parade along their coast merely for their amusement.

Notwithstanding the formidable state of our navy at this period, our trade was so ill protected, that, since the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken no less than three hundred and seventy two of our trading vessels. The merchants of London and other ports were convinced that their losses were chiefly owing to neglect, and they remembered the declaration of the minister, "That as the war was their own, they must take the consequences." I have before animadverted on the imprudence of intrusting the conduct of a war to a minister who is forced into it by opposition. Sir Robert Walpole did every thing in his power to avoid a war with Spain, which, with a little of that spirit which Cromwell on a like occasion would have exerted, he might have avoided. The Spaniards presumed on a knowledge of Sir Robert's pacific disposition. That nation had indeed great reason to be dissatisfied with the illicit trade carried on by English vessels in the West Indies. If, instead of guarding their coasts by armed ships, they had complained to the British ministry, and if the British ministry had taken effectual methods to prohibit this illicit trade, in consequence of such complaint, peace between the two nations might have been preserved, and Sir Robert Walpole would have remained prime minister. He was averse from the war, because he foresaw that it would destroy his influence, and I am afraid he wanted magnanimity to exert a degree of patriotic zeal sufficient to render successful a war which he did not approve.

Sir Robert Walpole, though extremely unpopular, had hitherto stood secure under the shelter of the throne. But the people of England were now so dissatisfied with this unsuccessful war with Spain, and particularly with his total neglect of the queen of Hungary in her distress, that, at the general election of a new parliament, a considerable majority of the

independent voters, throughout the kingdom, opposed the court; many of Sir Robert's members were thrown out, and when the parliament met, the complexion of the House of Commons was such, that a change of ministry became unavoidable. Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford; he resigned all his employments, and found an asylum in the House of Lords. The leading patriots in both houses were either taken into the new administration, or silenced by titles, so that all enquiry into the conduct of the late minister fell to the ground. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Newcastle and Lord Carteret secretaries of state, and Mr. Pulteney was created earl of Bath.

These incidental matters being premised, we now return to the proper object of our history. Forty thousand seamen were voted for the service of the current year. The fleet in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Haddock, consisted of twenty-nine men of war. He resigned to Lestock on account of his declining health; but the new ministry gave the command to Admiral Matthews, who sailed from Spithead on the 16th of April, with the Namur, Caroline, Russel, and Norfolk. This admiral was also invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy. As soon as he had assumed the command, being informed that five Spanish gallies lay at anchor in the bay of St. Tropez, he ordered Captain Norris to attack and destroy them; which service was immediately and effectually performed. The united fleet of France and Spain was at this time in the harbour of Toulon: it consisted of thirty-six ships of the line. The British fleet, being joined by Rear-admiral Rowley, was somewhat superior in number of ships. Mr. Mathews's instructions were, to block up the Toulon fleet, and by cruising on the coast to prevent any supplies being sent to the army in Provence. For

this purpose, on the 2d of June, he stationed his two rear-admirals, Lestock and Rowley, with twenty-four ships, off the islands of Hieres, with orders to cruise for six weeks. Whilst Mathews continued at Villa Franca, a French man of war, passing by that port, in sight of the fleet, neglected to pay a proper compliment to the British flag. The admiral fired a gun as a signal for her to bring to, the Frenchman continued obstinate; upon which Mr. Mathews ordered one of his ships to pursue and sink him; which was immediately executed by the first broadside. Meanwhile a part of the British fleet, cruising on the coast of Catalonia, bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, in both which they destroyed many houses and many of their inhabitants. What had these wretched inhabitants done to offend the king of England? but such are the laws of war! If Christian princes believed in the religion they profess, surely they would not wantonly involve their innocent subjects in such calamities. But, if they must needs quarrel and fight, it were devoutly to be wished, that, by some general law of nations, the inoffensive part of their subjects might be secured from insult and devastation.

In the beginning of August, Admiral Mathews detached Commodore Martin with a squadron to the Bay of Naples, with orders to compel his Sicilian Majesty to recall his troops from the Spanish army in Italy. The Neapolitans were thrown into the utmost consternation at the appearance of an English fleet; expecting every moment a more dreadful thunder than that of Vesuvius. The king, however, to save his capital, signed a paper delivered to him by Mr. Martin, by which he engaged immediately to recall his troops, and to observe a strict neutrality during the war. Having performed this service, the commodore rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which was now the general rendezvous of the British

fleet. Towards the end of August, Mr. Mathews, being informed that the Spaniards had collected a considerable magazine at St. Remo, in the Genoese territories, caused a party of sailors to be landed near that town in order to destroy it; and they executed their commission without any danger or difficulty. He likewise sent two ships with orders to take or destroy a Spanish man of war of the line, which lay at anchor at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica; but the Spaniard saved them the trouble, by first setting his men on shore, and then blowing up the ship.

Let us now take a temporary leave of Europe, in order to review the British fleet and army in the West Indies. We are to recollect, that, after the retreat from Carthagena, the troops under General Wentworth returned to Jamaica, and Admiral Vernon with his squadron continued cruising off Hispaniola in expectation of a reinforcement from England. But not meeting with the convoy, he returned to Jamaica on the 5th of January, where, on the 15th, arrived also the Greenwich, St. Alban's, and the Fox, with the expected reinforcement from England of two-thousand marines. The principal officers, both of the army and navy, ruminating, with regret, on their two last unsuccessful expeditions, were unanimously of opinion, that they could not with any degree of credit, return to England without some farther attempt against the enemy. General councils of war were frequently held, and it was at last determined to land at Porto Bello, march across the Isthmus of Darien, and take the rich town of Panama. But, though this resolution was taken early in January, it was upwards of two months before the troops and transports were ready for embarkation. However, they embarked at last, and the whole fleet came to an anchor in the harbour of Porto-Bello, in the evening of the 28th of March. This fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, three fire-ships, and two hospital ships, with forty transports, on board of

which were three thousand land forces, and five hundred negroes raised by Governor Trelawny, who himself attended the expedition. As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, the governor of Porto-Bello marched directly to Panama with three companies of Spaniards and two companies of Mulattoes. There being nothing to oppose the landing of the troops, the admiral imagined that they would proceed without delay; but, to his great surprise, a council of the land-officers resolved that the scheme was impracticable, and that it was therefore necessary to return to Jamaica. The reasons assigned for this resolution were, the season being too far advanced, their numbers being diminished by sickness and the separation of some of the transports, and their having received intelligence that the garrison of Panama had been lately reinforced. These reasons did not appear quite satisfactory to Mr. Vernon; nevertheless, as, in their general councils of war, there was a majority of land-officers, his opinion was of no importance. That their number was somewhat reduced is most certain; but there remained yet two thousand effective men; an army more than sufficient, under a general of spirit and abilities, to have secured the treasure of Panama. Nothing can be more contemptible than this prudent timidity, when we consider that the attempt might have been made without the least risk, as there was no army in the whole country capable of meeting them in the field, and consequently, in case of a repulse, they might have returned without the least danger of being harassed in their retreat. Possibly these land officers would have had more resolution in a colder climate. Be this as it may, the whole fleet sailed from Porto-Bello in the beginning of April, and arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of May. On the 23d of September the Gibraltar man of war arrived at Port Royal in that island, with a letter from the duke of Newcastle, ordering Vice-admiral Vernon and Ge-

neral Wentworth to return immediately to England, and they returned accordingly.

Thus ended this vast enterprise against the Spanish settlements in America! in which enormous sums were expended, and ten thousand lives sacrificed, without the least benefit to the nation, or glory to the commanders. To inquire into the cause, or causes, of such a series of disappointments cannot, at this distance of time, be attributed to partiality or malevolence; and to neglect such inquiry, were to frustrate the only rational design of history. The death of Lord Cathcart was the first misfortune, and, probably, the foundation of all that followed. Though this could neither be foreseen nor prevented, yet it may teach future ministers of state, that it is not sufficient to attend solely to the abilities of the commander in chief; the second, and even the third, in command, should also be men equal to the command of an army. That General Wentworth wanted that determined intrepid alacrity so necessary in the execution of such enterprises is self-evident. As to Vernon, he certainly did not want resolution, but it is pretty certain that his contempt for Wentworth prevented him from acting so cordially and vigorously as he ought to have done. He wished to have had the sole direction of every operation, and I must do him the justice to believe, that, if that had been the case, he would generally have succeeded.

I must now recall the reader's attention to Mr. Anson, whom we left in the Pacific Ocean, cruising on the coast of Mexico, in hourly expectation of falling in with the annual Spanish galleon in her passage from Manilla to Acapulco. In these hopes he was dissappointed; for he was informed by three negroes whom he surprised in a canoe, off the harbour of Acapulco, that the galleon arrived on the 9th of January, about twenty days before the squadron fell in with the coast. But he had the satisfaction to learn

also, that her return was fixed for the 5d of March. This information was joyfully received, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo would render her a much more valuable prize than she would have been before her arrival at Acapulco.

All hands were now employed in preparing for the reception of the galleon, not doubting but that this immense reward of their former sufferings would soon be in their possession; for though the crews of the five ships amounted in all to no more than three hundred and thirty, boys included, and the hands on board the galleon were generally almost double that number; yet there was not a person on board the squadron who had any other doubt, or fear, than that of her not sailing at the time appointed. Mr. Anson's fleet consisted of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Carmelo, the Carmin, the Tryal's prize, and two cutters. With these five ships he formed a chain, commanding an extent of about twenty leagues, at such a distance from the harbour of Acapulco as not to be seen from the shore, and sent the two cutters every night nearer the shore, with orders to stand off again at the approach of day. In this disposition they expected the appointed day with the utmost impatience. The important day dawned at last, and every eye in the fleet gazed perpetually towards the land. The sun sunk beneath the horizon, and no ship appeared. Another day passed, and then a third, in fruitless expectation. In short, after waiting to no purpose till the 23d, the commodore rationally concluded, that the galleon was detained till the year following; and this was really the case, in consequence of his barge having been seen by the enemy when she was sent to discover the harbour of Acapulco.

Having now remained on this station as long as his stores of wood and water would allow, Mr. Anson thought it expedient to prepare for his voyage to China, and it being determined to recruit his stores

at Chequetan, about thirty leagues west of Acapulco, he steered directly for that harbour, where he arrived on the 7th of April. The first business here, after a vain attempt to open an intercourse with the natives, was to unload and destroy the Carmelo, the Carmin, and the Tryal's prize, in order to strengthen the crews of the men of war, so as to enable them to undertake, with any degree of safety, the voyage across the Pacific Ocean. The business of watering, &c. being now finished, the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor on the 28th of April, and proceeded on their voyage to China. They lost sight of the American mountains on the 8th of May. After contending with repeated gales of contrary winds, the Gloucester, having lost most of her masts, became so leaky, that, on the 15th of August, it was found impossible to keep her any longer above water. The crew was, therefore, removed to the Centurion, and the Gloucester was set on fire. On the 28th, the Centurion arrived at Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, in latitude 15° north, and 115° west of Acapulco. At this time so many of their people had perished, or were sick of the scurvy, that not quite a hundred men remained fit for duty. The number of the sick amounted to one hundred and twenty-eight, most of whom recovered soon after landing on this fertile, healthy, and beautiful island. Here they remained till the 21st of October, on which day, the crew being now in good health, the Centurion stood out to sea, steering directly for the island of Macoa, a Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the river Canton in China. She made the land on the 5th of November, and came to an anchor on the 12th, in the road near the city of Macoa.

After many provoking delays and difficulties, Mr. Anson at last obtained permission from the Chinese government to repair his ship, and replenish his store of provisions. This business being at length effected to his satisfaction, he put to sea on the 19th of April,

1743; and, though he had given out that he was bound for Batavia, he had resolved once more to try to intercept the Acapulco ship in her passage to Manilla. With this intention, he returned to the Philippine islands, and cruised off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samuel, that being the first land generally made by the galleons. He continued cruising on this station till the 20th of June, when, early in the morning, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew, they discovered the long-expected galleon. The engagement soon began, and continued about two hours; after which, the Spaniard struck, having sixty-seven men killed and eighty-four wounded. The Centurion had only two killed and seventeen wounded, who all recovered, except one man. The treasure on board this galleon consisted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal and other merchandise, amounting in the whole to 313,000*l.* sterling.

The commodore being now in possession of the reward of his toil, dangers, perseverance, and resolution, with a crew on board whose felicity cannot be easily imagined, returned to the river of Canton, where he came to an anchor on the 14th of July. His sole intention being to lay in the stores necessary for his voyage to England, he applied immediately to the Chinese government, for leave to victual his ship; but such is the suspicious folly and absurd policy of that people, that after five months delay, he was at last obliged to insist on an audience of the vice-roy of Canton, before he could be supplied. Immediately after this audience, his stores were sent on board; and, on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and fell down the river. On the 12th, they anchored before the town of Macoa, where Mr. Anson sold the Spanish galleon for 6000 dollars, and on the 15th proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 11th of March, and sailing from thence on the 3d of April,

came to an anchor at Spithead, on the 15th of June, 1744.

Having thus brought the fortunate Centurion safe to England, let us inquire into the exploits of our fleet in the West Indies. When Admiral Vernon returned home, the command of the fleet devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who, in the month of February, detached Captain Knowles with eight men of war, having four hundred land forces on board, with orders to make an attack on the town of La Guira, on the coast of Caraccas. Mr. Knowles accordingly proceeded; he began his attack on the 18th, about noon, and continued firing upon the town till night, without any other effect than that of destroying some houses and churches. His ships were so shattered, that he was obliged to desist, and to sail for Curaçoa, in order to refit. It was said that the Spaniards lost seven hundred men on this occasion; it is, however, certain that the English squadron had nearly a hundred men killed, and three times that number wounded.

Mr. Knowles having miscarried in this attack, was unwilling to return, without a farther attempt to revive the faded laurels of his country. His ships being repaired, he resolved to make an attack upon Porto Cavallo. The Spaniards were apprized of his design, and had taken effectual measures for their defence. The garrison, consisting of sailors, Indians, Mulattoes, and Blacks, amounted to about 2000 men; and the entrance into the harbour was secured by sunken vessels, and commanded by several fascine batteries. The squadron sailed from Curaçoa on the 20th of March, but did not arrive off Porto Cavallo before the 15th of April. It was resolved to send in two men of war to cannonade the batteries, and the Lively and Eltham being immediately ordered upon this service, silenced the guns of the enemy before night. As soon as it was dark, the firing on both sides having ceased, Major Lucas, with 1200 men,

sailors and soldiers, landed on the beach, and, marching along shore, took possession of one of the fascine batteries. The Spaniards being now alarmed, two guns were fired from another battery upon the assailants, which throwing them into confusion, they began to fire upon each other, and with great precipitation retired to their ships. The British spirit being not yet quite subdued by this miscarriage, it was resolved, in a council of war, to make a general attack upon the castle and batteries at the same time: accordingly, on the 24th, this general attack was begun by seven men of war; the Assistance, Burford, Suffolk, and Norwich, battered the castle; and the Scarborough, Lively, and Eltham, fired upon the fascine batteries. The cannonading continued with great fury till nine at night, at which time the commodore made a signal to cut. It was indeed high time, for he had now lost two hundred men, and most of his ships had sustained considerable damage. His disgrace being now complete, Commodore Knowles made the best of his way to Jamaica, where he remained inactive during the remainder of the year.

Such were the achievements of the British navy in the West Indies, during the year 1743. We were indeed peculiarly unsuccessful in that part of the world, every attempt against the enemy, since the taking of Porto Bello, having miscarried. Our commanders probably were not deficient in point of personal courage; but personal courage without abilities, is frequently productive of disappointment and disgrace. In the Mediterranean, the fleet under the command of Admiral Mathews continued still on its station at Hieres, without performing any signal service, except preventing the French and Spanish fleets from sailing out of the harbour of Toulon.

The Spaniards in the course of this year took two hundred and sixty-two British prizes, valued at 567,000*l.* sterling; and we took from them one hun-

dred and forty-six ships, worth about 754,000*l.* including the Acapulco ship taken by Mr. Anson.

The naval promotions in this year were these: Sir John Norris made admiral of the red; John Balchen, Esq. admiral of the white; Thomas Mathews, Esq. vice-admiral of the red; Nicholas Haddock, Esq. vice-admiral of the white; Sir Chaloner Ogle, vice-admiral of the blue; James Stuart, Esq. rear-admiral of the red; Richard Lestock, Esq. rear-admiral of the white; Sir Charles Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue.

Though, in the preceding year, the French army was defeated by the king of Great Britain in person; though the French and Spanish fleets were united in the Mediterranean, yet between England and France there was no war. However, in the beginning of the year 1744, both nations threw off the mask. The dissensions in the British parliament at this time ran high, and the people in general were discontented. The Popish emissaries and Jacobites, in different parts of the kingdom, persuaded the French ministry, that a revolution in favour of the Pretender might easily be effected, and Cardinal Tencin gave ear to their project, fully persuaded that the attempt would at least cause a considerable diversion from the Continent. Charles, the second son of the Chevalier De St. George, was accordingly invited to Paris, where he arrived some time in the month of January. In the same month, a fleet of twenty French men of war sailed up the English Channel, and seven thousand men were actually embarked at Dunkirk, with a design to invade England. These proceedings being immediately known in this kingdom, Sir John Norris was ordered to take the command of the fleet at Spithead, which being joined by several ships from Chatham, became superior to that of France. At the same time, proper measures were taken for defending the coast, in case of an invasion. The fleets of the two nations came within sight of each other; but the

French admiral, conscious of his inferiority, thought fit to decline an engagement, and taking the advantage of a hard gale of wind, returned to the port from whence he sailed. Thus ended this famous invasion, which was intended to restore the unfortunate family of Stuart to the throne of their ancestors, and the young adventurer was obliged to postpone the assertion of his pretensions to a more favourable opportunity.

I must now conduct the reader to the grandest scene exhibited during the whole war: a scene which for magnificence and importance, hath rarely been equalled in any age, on any sea. Seventy-four men of war in the Mediterranean, all in view, at the same time preparing to pour out their thunder, destructive of the human species, and decisive of the fate of nations! The great, the anxious expectation raised by such a prospect, may be easily imagined; but the vast machinery was too stupendous for human management, and the heroic virtue of former ages was wanting to produce a glorious catastrophe.

The French and Spanish fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line and six frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and two fire-ships, all moored in the Bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the united fleet was one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and of men sixteen thousand five hundred; the guns on board the British fleet were two thousand four hundred and ninety, and the number of men fifteen thousand. But the number of ships of the line was equal, and these were equally manned. However, on a comparative view of the whole force of each squadron, there was an evident superiority in favour of the English; in justice to whom, we must, nevertheless, remember, that having been long at sea, their ships were foul, whilst those of the enemy were clean, and in fine sailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to

support the disgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, sent positive orders for them to proceed to sea, at all events. On the 8th of February they were perceived to be under sail, the French admiral, De Court, having hoisted his flag on board the Terrible. Admiral Mathews immediately made a signal for unmooring, and the British fleet got under weigh on the 9th, with all possible expedition. During this and the following day, these two tremendous fleets continued manœuvring in sight of each other, apparently endeavouring, like two land armies, to gain the advantage of situation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no great inclination to fight, and his ships sailed so well, that he might easily have escaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of skill, or want of hands, proceeded so tardily, that it was impossible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater distance than on the preceding day, and Admiral Mathews had the mortification to find Mr. Lestock's division considerably astern. He now imagined that De Court's intention was to draw him towards the Straits, in expectation of a reinforcement from Brest; he therefore determined to engage the enemy as soon as possible, notwithstanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at too great a distance from the centre. Accordingly, at half past eleven, Admiral Mathews made the signal to engage; which signal Lestock did not think proper to repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, so far astern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the English, was opposite to the enemy's rear, consisting of the Spanish squadron; and Rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, was abreast of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets situated, when Admiral Mathews hoisted the signal for engaging. Himself in the Namur, and Captain Cornwall, in the Marlborough, bore down upon the Spanish admiral and the Isabella, and began

the attack about half past one o'clock. At the same time, Captain Forbes, in the Norfolk, engaged the Constant, and the Princessa Somerset, Bedford, Dragon, and Kingston, fired at the Poder. About two o'clock, Rear-admiral Rowley, in the Barfleur, and Captain Osborne, in the Caroline, came up with the French admiral and the Ferme, and engaged them some time. The brave Captain Cornwall lost both his legs by one shot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a mast, which was shot by the board. The Norfolk obliged the Constant to quit the line. Meanwhile the Princessa and Somerset were disabled by the Poder, but she being afterwards engaged by Captain Hawke, in the Berwick, was dismasted and obliged to strike.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his scattered fleet, bore away. The British fleet pursued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in sight, Admiral Mathews, being apprehensive that they intended to decoy him from the coast of Italy, made a signal to discontinue the chace. The French squadron put into Alicant on the 16th, and the Spaniards into Carthagena on the day following. The British fleet, having spent some days to no purpose, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in vainly attempting to regain their former station off Toulon, were at length obliged, by contrary winds, to bear away for the Island of Minorca.

Thus ended, chiefly in smoke, this memorable battle, which seemed to threaten a most tremendous conflict; and which, from the superiority of the British fleet, ought to have annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. How it happened that so many of our captains were on that day fascinated, I know not; it is however very certain, that few of them were fairly engaged. Admiral Mathews was so dissatisfied with Lestock's conduct, that he suspended him from his command, and sent him to England. That Les-

tock did not fight, is most certain. He said in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authorized to do, because, though the signal for engaging was made, yet that for the line of battle was still abroad. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular, without any impeachment of his abilities as a naval commander, may surely be admitted, when we consider him bearing down upon the enemy, and preparing to engage; but it was an excuse for declining an attack, which an honest and brave man would never have pleaded. The misfortune originated in a continued misunderstanding between Mathews and Lestock; the latter of whom sacrificed his own reputation, to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too successful; for, by the sentence of a court-martial in England, Admiral Mathews was dismissed, and rendered incapable of serving the king; Lestock was honourably acquitted. The people of England were, however, of a very different opinion from the court, and posterity will do justice to both commanders. Mathews was, doubtless, a brave and an honest man; Lestock was an artful, vindictive disciplinarian. Whether he was really a coward, cannot be positively determined; but if he was not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honesty. As second in command, he had no business with the propriety or impropriety of orders. The last order, or signal, like a last will and testament, supersedes all the preceding signals, and ought to be immediately obeyed, regardless of any apparent impropriety or absurdity. Every individual in a fleet or army, except the commander-in-chief, is a mere machine; whose business it is to execute, not to reason. The signal for the line of battle being abroad, when that for engaging was hoisted, was a pitiful excuse for not fighting. Lestock evidently saw that the enemy was in our power, and though the admiral's signals might seem somewhat inconsis-

tent, his intentions were not equivocal. Mathews might want head; Lestock certainly wanted heart. The one might deserve censure: the other ought to have been shot. By what extraordinary evidence, or other instigation, the members of the courts-martial who determined the fate of these admirals were influenced, I know not; but their sentence must for ever remain a blot in the annals of this country.

The few naval commanders who distinguished themselves in this skirmish, for it hardly deserves the name of a battle, were, the Admirals Mathews and Rowley, the Captains Cornwall, Forbes, Osborne, and Hawke. Few of the rest were much engaged. The Spaniards lost but one ship, the Poder, and about a thousand men killed and wounded. The British fleet lost a fire-ship, and in killed and wounded about four hundred.

Notwithstanding this naval engagement in the Mediterranean with the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was yet no declaration of war between Great Britain and France. This ceremony, however, was at last performed. On the 20th of March, war was declared at Paris; and, on the 31st of the same month, at London. The navy of France consisted, at this time, of forty-five ships of the line, sixty-seven frigates, and fifty-five gallies: that of England of ninety ships of the line, eighty-four frigates, and fifty other vessels; in all two hundred and twenty-four ships of war. On the 23d of June, the following promotions were made in the navy: Nicholas Haddock, Esq. and Sir Chaloner Ogle, appointed admirals of the blue; James Stuart, Esq. and Sir Charles Hardy, vice-admirals of the red; Thomas Davers, Esq. and the Hon. George Clinton, vice-admirals of the white; William Rowley, and William Martin, Esqrs. vice-admirals of the blue; Isaac Townsend, Esq. rear-admiral of the red; Henry Medley, Esq. rear-admiral of the white; George Anson, rear-admiral of the blue.

The first fleet which sailed from England after the

declaration of war with France, was commanded by Sir Charles Hardy; it consisted of eleven ships of the line. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of April, with a number of store-ships under his convoy for the relief of the Mediterranean fleet, which was in great want of stores and provisions. Having put into the port of Lisbon, and being there detained by contrary winds, the French ministry, acquainted with his destination, sent immediate orders for the Brest squadron, of fourteen sail of the line, to block him up. This service was effectually performed, and Sir Charles remained in the Tagus.

On the 6th of July, the British navy was reinforced by the arrival of twenty Dutch men of war at Portsmouth, under the command of Admiral Bacherest. On the 15th, they were joined by Admiral Balchen, with fourteen sail of the line. This united fleet sailed from Spithead on the 7th of August, to the relief of Sir Charles Hardy, and on the 9th of September came to an anchor off the rock of Lisbon. The French admiral, having had previous intelligence of Balchen's approach, quitted his station. Sir Charles Hardy, with his convoy, joined the fleet, which immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having reinforced the garrison, returned in search of the Brest squadron. But M. Rochambault, the French admiral, was, by this time, safe in the harbour of Cadiz. Sir John Balchen entered the Bay of Biscay, in his return to England, on the 30th of September; and, on the 3d of October, his whole fleet was dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships suffered considerably, particularly the Exeter and the Duke, the first of which lost her main and mizen-masts, and was under the necessity of throwing twelve of her guns overboard; and the latter had all her sails torn to pieces, and ten feet water in her hold. The whole fleet, however, except the admiral, arrived at St. Helen's on the 10th of October. The Victory was separated from the rest of the fleet on the 4th, after which she

was never seen or heard of more. It is generally supposed that she struck upon a ridge of rocks, called the Caskets, near Alderney, as repeated signals of distress were heard by the inhabitants of that island; but it blew so violently, that it was impossible to give her any assistance. Thus perished the finest first rate man of war in the world, one of the best admirals in the British service, eleven hundred sailors, and a considerable number of volunteers, many of whom were of families of distinction.

Having now concluded the naval transactions in Europe during the year 1744, we direct our enquiries towards America, where we left Sir Chaloner Ogle with the British fleet, in the harbour of Port Royal, in Jamaica, and Admiral De Torres, with that of Spain, at the Havannah. In these respective situations they both remained, not otherwise employed than in sending out cruizers to interrupt the trade of each nation; till, on the 4th of November, De Torres, with five men of war and as many galleons, richly laden, sailed for Europe, and arrived safe at Corunna on the 29th of December. These galleons brought a treasure of fifteen millions of piastres.

During this year the navy of England sustained some considerable losses. I have before mentioned the fate of the unfortunate Victory. On the 4th of June the Northumberland, a new ship, of seventy guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by Captain Watson, cruising in the Channel, fell in with three French men of war, viz. the Mars, of 68 guns, and five hundred and eighty men, commanded by Monsieur De Perrier; the Constant, of sixty guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by Monsieur Conflans; and the Venus, of twenty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Monsieur De Dacher. The Northumberland sustained this very unequal conflict for three hours, with amazing activity and resolution; till, unfortunately, Captain Watson was mortally wounded: she then

struck her colours, by order of the master, who was therefore afterwards sentenced by a court-martial, to spend the remainder of his life in the Marshalsea prison. The French ships lost one hundred and thirty men in the engagement, and their rigging was so shattered, that they intended to sheer off as soon as it was dark. They carried the Northumberland in great triumph into Brest, where Captain Watson died. The Seaford, Captain Pie, the Solebay, Captain Bury, both of 20 guns, and the Grampus sloop, were likewise taken by part of the Brest squadron in the course of this year.

Before I conclude the naval history of the year 1744, it is necessary to turn our eyes, for a moment, towards the East Indies. In consequence of an application to the lords of the Admiralty, from the East India company, Commodore Barnet, with four men of war, sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of May, and, after his arrival in the East Indies, took a French fifty-gun ship, and three rich prizes.

At the close of this year it appeared, that, since the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken seven hundred and eighty-six British vessels, which were valued at 2,751,000*l.* and the British effects seized in Spain, on the declaration of war, were estimated at 50,000*l.* On the other hand, the number of Spanish ships taken by our men of war and privateers, amounted to eight hundred and fifty, supposed to be worth 2,550,000*l.* To this if we add 2,181,000*l.* the supposed amount of the prizes taken, fortifications destroyed, &c. by Admiral Vernon and Mr. Anson, the loss sustained by Spain will exceed that of Great Britain 1,930,000*l.* By a similar estimate of the account with France, there appeared above half a million sterling in our favour.

Notwithstanding this balance, the reader has, doubtless, been disappointed to find our naval history of 1744 so unimportant; and, in the only engagement of consequence, so disgraceful. The fatal dis-

agreement between Mathews and Lestock cannot be remembered, without indignation; but the ministry, who knew their enmity, must have foreseen, and were therefore answerable for the consequence. That ministry was now changed. Lord Carteret resigned his place of secretary of state to the earl of Harrington, and the duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the Admiralty. Orders were immediately issued for every man of war in the several ports to be fitted for service. Admiral Davers was sent to protect Jamaica, the Mediterranean fleet was reinforced y Admiral Medley, and the coast of Great Britain was secured by cruizers properly stationed.

Meanwhile, a project was formed in the general assembly of Massachusets in New England, to surprise the city of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that island. The ministry being made sensible of the importance of the enterprise, ordered Commodore Warren to quit his station at the Leeward Islands, and join the American expedition. This armament was raised with so much secrecy and dispatch, that an army of 3850 volunteers, under the command of William Pepperel, Esq. was ready to embark at Boston before the French government were apprized of their intention. They arrived at Canso in Nova Scotia, under the convoy of ten American privateers, on the 2d of April, and on the 25th were joined by Commodore Warren, in the Superbe of sixty guns, attended by the Lanceston, the Eltham, and the Mermaid, of forty guns each. Canso is within sight of Cape Breton, and yet the inhabitants of that island were hitherto totally ignorant of their danger, till, on the 30th of April, they beheld this hostile fleet come to an anchor in Gabarus Bay, about a league from Louisbourg. The governor immediately sent a detachment of a hundred men, to oppose the landing of the American troops; but the French were soon obliged to retire in confusion, and the invaders disembarked

without the loss of a single man. General Pepperel immediately invested Louisbourg, whilst Mr. Warren blocked up the harbour, convoyed several vessels with stores and provisions from Boston, and intercepted a French man of war of forty-four guns, and other ships intended to relieve the city. Meanwhile, he was joined by the Canterbury, the Sunderland, and the Chester; the two first of sixty guns, and the last a fifty gun ship, and on the 11th of June the Princess Mary, the Hector, and the Lark, were also added to his fleet. On the 15th of June, Monsieur Chambon, the governor of Louisbourg, sent a flag of truce to the British camp, and the island of Cape Breton was surrendered to his Britannic Majesty.

It is impossible to consider, without astonishment, the rapid success of this handful of undisciplined Northern Americans, against a city regularly fortified, with several very formidable batteries, and defended by twelve hundred regular troops and skilful engineers. But the activity and resolution of the besiegers was such, that skill and discipline fled before them like chaff before the wind. Can these Americans be a race of cowards? Are these a people to be bullied into obedience? Will the feeble attempts of a General Wentworth in the West Indies bear any comparison with the conquest of Louisbourg? It was indeed a very important conquest, as it dispossessed the French of the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and deprived them of their only sea-port in North America.

After the departure of Commodore Warren for North America, the West India Islands were left, in a great measure, defenceless, Sir Chaloner Ogle having returned to England with six men of war. For this reason, Vice-admiral Townsend was ordered from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, with a squadron of eight ships. He sailed from Gibraltar on the 2d of August, and arrived off Martinico on the 3d of October, when he was joined by the Pembroke

of sixty guns, and the Woolwich of fifty. Admiral Townsend having had information, that the inhabitants of Martinico were in great distress for provisions, determined to remain upon this station in order to prevent their receiving any supplies from France: for though it be a maxim of honourable war, among Christian princes, not to murder such of each other's subjects as do not bear arms, it is, nevertheless universally allowable to destroy by hunger as many peaceable men, women, and children, as they can. Gospel and political Christianity are very different religions.

On the 31st of October, Admiral Townsend discovered a fleet of forty sail of French ships, turning the southern extremity of Martinico. It proved to be a fleet of merchantmen and store ships sent to the relief of the French West India Islands, under convoy of four men of war, commanded by Commodore M'Namara; who, perceiving the superiority of his enemy, saved himself by running under the guns of Fort-Royal. The other three men of war also escaped; but nearly thirty of the other vessels were either taken, burnt, sunk, or driven on shore. The admiral, likewise, took a large privateer and three Dutch vessels bound from St. Eustatia to Martinico with provisions, by which he had the *happiness* of completing the famine on that island so entirely, that many thousand negroes and other inhabitants perished of hunger! Exploits of this nature must afford little satisfaction on reflection; especially when they contribute nothing either to the glory or emolument of the state.

Such were our naval exploits in the West Indies, in the year 1745, exclusive of some valuable prizes taken by our men of war and privateers; the most considerable of which were, the Marquis D'Antin, and the Lewis Erasmus, worth 70,000*l.* taken by the Prince Frederic and the Duke privateers. In the course of this year, the British navy suffered the loss

of one sloop only, which was taken and carried into Martinico; whilst the British cruisers, in that part of the world made captures of five French and two Spanish men of war.

In Europe, nothing material happened to grace our annals. Admiral Martin commanded a squadron in the Channel, attending the motions of the Brest fleet. Rear-admiral Medley sailed from Spithead, with seven men of war, in order to reinforce Admiral Rowley, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Minorca on the 10th of April. Thus strengthened, the vice admiral proceeded, with twenty-four ships of the line, to block up the Spanish fleet at Carthagena, which he thereby prevented either from transporting troops to Italy, or from joining the French squadron at Brest. The republic of Genoa having declared against the queen of Hungary, Admiral Rowley detached a part of his fleet, under the command of Commodore Cooper, to bombard the towns upon their coast; several of these towns suffered considerably, particularly St. Remo, which he reduced almost to ashes.

The year 1746, affords not a single example of the naval superiority of Great Britain. It is nevertheless necessary, in order to preserve the thread of our history, to inform the reader where and how our several fleets were employed. Commodore Barnet, who died in the East Indies, was succeeded in the command of the squadron by Captain Peyton. This squadron consisted of six men of war, which were now stationed at Fort St. David. At Pondicherry the French had eight ships of force, under the command of Monsieur Bourdonnais. Commodore Peyton, cruising between the coast of Coromandel and the island of Ceylon, on the 25th of June, fell in with Bourdonnais, whose squadron was somewhat reduced by the loss of the Insulaire. Both squadrons prepared to engage, and about four in the afternoon they began to fire upon each other. The battle lasted till seven,

it being then almost dark. The English had 14 men killed, and 46 wounded; the French 27 killed, and 53 wounded. Next morning the two fleets appeared at no great distance from each other; but neither of the commanders chose to renew the engagement. At four in the evening, Mr. Peyton called a council of war, which determined, as councils of war generally do, not to fight. When a commander in chief, invested with full power to act by his sole authority, calls a council of war, it creates a strong suspicion, that he wants to divide the blame of an unjustifiable action. The history of mankind, affords innumerable examples of cowardice in collective bodies, of which every individual would have been grievously ashamed. The English squadron proceeded to the island of Ceylon, and the French to Pondicherry.

Our principal historian of these times asserts, that the British squadron was superior to that of the enemy. This, however, was evidently not the case; therefore, the imputation of cowardice seems to fall more particularly on the French commodore. But Monsieur Bourdonnais had a greater object in view. The reduction of Madras promised a better harvest than disabling a few men of war. He appeared before that settlement on the 18th of August, and fired upon one of the ships belonging to the English East India Company, chiefly with a design to try whether Mr. Peyton meant to defend the place. Our commodore, for reasons best known to himself, as soon as he was informed of this insult, and consequently of the danger of Madras, immediately disappeared, and sailed the Lord knows whither. Monsieur Bourdonnais, with his whole squadron, returned to Madras on the 3d of September, and in a short time, made himself master of that important place. He would probably have succeeded in the reduction of every other British settlement on that coast, if he had not been prevented by a violent storm, which disabled a considerable part of his fleet.

In Europe, great designs were formed in the respective cabinets of England and France against each other's settlements in North America. The French determined to retake Louisbourg, and also to surprise Annapolis-Royal in Nova-Scotia. The English, on the other hand, planned the reduction of Quebec. Both kingdoms were disappointed in their expectations. The French fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fire-ships, and two bombs, came out of Brest on the 7th of May, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from proceeding on the voyage till the 22d of June. This fleet, which with privateers and transports, made in all ninety-seven sail, was commanded by the Duke D'Anville. He had on board 3500 land forces, under the command of Brigadier-general Jonquiere. They did not make the coast of Acadia till the 10th of September, and on the 13th, a storm arose, which, continuing some days, dispersed the fleet, and destroyed several of the transports; so that, on the 27th, they mustered at Chiboctou, their place of rendezvous, no more than seven ships of the line, two frigates, one fire-ship, one bomb-vessel, twelve privateers, and eighteen transports, in all fifty-six sail. Whilst they lay in the harbour of Chiboctou, the mortality was so great, that, in a short space of time, they buried their commander in chief, their second in command, 1500 of the land forces, and 800 sailors. The number of their ships and of their men being thus reduced, they gave up every idea of conquest, and sailed for Europe on the 12th of October, where they arrived without farther accident.

Meanwhile, the British ministry, as I have said above, had planned an expedition for the reduction of Quebec. For this purpose, a considerable fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, in the month of April, and several regiments were actually embarked under the command of General Sinclair. The duke of Newcastle having previously communicated his intention of

invading Canada to the northern provinces of America, requiring their assistance, ten thousand men were immediately raised, and waited impatiently for the arrival of the British fleet. But such was the irresolution of the ministry at this period of our history, that the French were not only informed of their design, but had time to equip a squadron sufficient to counteract the entire project. This squadron, as we have seen above, sailed from France on the 22d of June. It was indeed ready to sail six weeks sooner, but was detained by contrary winds.

The British ministry having now relinquished their design against Canada, resolved to make a descent on the coast of Britanny, in France, and particularly to destroy Port L'Orient, in order to ruin the French East India Company. Lieutenant-general Sinclair commanded the land forces, and the command of the fleet was given to Admiral Lestock, that very Lestock with whose conduct in the Mediterranean the reader is sufficiently acquainted. This armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb-vessels, besides store-ships and transports, on board of which were 5800 regular troops, including matrosses and bombardiers. After various unaccountable delays, during which the French were perfectly acquainted with their destination, they sailed at last from Plymouth, on the 14th of September, and, steering directly for the coast of Britanny, came to an anchor in Quimperlay-bay on the 18th. General Sinclair, with the troops under his command, landed on the 20th in the evening, without the least molestation, and the next morning, took possession of a small town called Plemure, about a league from L'Orient, and there fixed his head quarters. On the 22d, the British army having advanced to a rising ground, about half a league from the city, General Sinclair summoned it to surrender; but the governor, not liking the conditions, determined to defend it. On the 25th, the besiegers opened a battery of

twelve cannon and a mortar, and the next day began to throw red hot balls into the town, which took fire in several parts. During this time, the besieged continued to fire from the ramparts with great alacrity; nevertheless, their fortifications were in such bad condition, that, on the 27th, they had resolved to beat a parley; when, to their infinite surprise and joy, the firing of the besiegers ceased. General Sinclair and his army retreated to their camp, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and, on the 28th, re-embarked without molestation. Their loss, during the siege, amounted, in killed and wounded, to eighty men. Why the British general fled, with so much precipitation, from the arms of victory, is difficult to imagine, unless he was discouraged, on finding the enterprise not seconded by the admiral, who, according to the original plan, was to have brought his ships to bear upon the town. Mr. Lestock said, in his defence, that the enemy had rendered his entrance into the harbour of Port L'Orient impracticable. Probably, the signals for advancing, as with Matthews in the Mediterranean, were not made in due form. But the cause of their miscarriage seems to have originated in not landing the troops immediately, and storming the town without the loss of a moment. When the British fleet came to an anchor, the garrison of Port L'Orient was very weak, and few of their guns were mounted on the ramparts. Some of our subsequent attempts on the coast of France have been frustrated by the same cause. The principal damage done to the enemy in this expedition, was the destruction of the Ardent, a sixty-four gun ship, by the Exeter, who, after an obstinate engagement, ran her on shore, and afterwards set her on fire. Admiral Lestock, with his entire squadron, left the coast of France, on the 8th of October, and returned to England, without having in any degree fulfilled the intentions of the minis-

try, which were, to ruin the French East India Company by destroying L'Orient, and, by dividing of the French troops, to facilitate the invasion of Provence by the Austrian army.

In the West Indies, nothing of importance was attempted by any of the belligerent powers. We find, however, upon record, one naval transaction, which, though it will not add much to our national renown, ought, nevertheless, not to be forgotten. Vice-admiral Davers, who commanded on the Jamaica station, having received intelligence that Monsieur Conflans, with four men of war and ninety merchantmen, from France, was hourly expected at Martinico, detached Commodore Mitchel with five men of war and a sloop to intercept him. He fell in with the French fleet on the 3d of August, and at seven in the evening was about a league to windward of them, when, instead of engaging the enemy, he made a signal to speak with the captains of his squadron, a majority of whom were of opinion, that it were best to defer the battle till next morning. These councils of war, as I have before observed, seldom forebode much heroism. When a man calls his friends about him, to ask them whether he shall fight to-day or to-morrow, there is great reason to believe that he had rather not fight at all. However, general orders were given to keep the enemy in sight, and to engage as soon as day-light should appear. But the French merchant vessels, being so unpolite as not to wait to be taken by the English, all escaped; and Monsieur Conflans, after exchanging a few shot with the British squadron, followed his convoy. Mr. Mitchel's caution was so great, that, when night came on, he ordered his ships to carry no lights, lest the French should be so rude as to give him chace. Monsieur Conflans, in his return to Europe, fell in with an English fleet from the Leeward islands, under the convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, of 50 guns each, the latter of which, after two hours engagement, he took and

carried into Brest. Mitchel, being afterwards tried by a court martial, was fined five years pay, and rendered incapable of future service.

The British fleet, in the Mediterranean, was, this year, commanded by Vice-admiral Medley, whose principal transaction was, the assistance which he gave to the Austrian general at the siege of Antibes. Admiral Martin, who commanded in the channel, was in the month of July succeeded by Admiral Anson, who was appointed vice-admiral of the blue.

The French, in the course of this year, took from the English one man of war of 60 guns, two sloops, nine privateers, one East Indiaman, and four hundred and sixty-six merchant vessels. The Spaniards took one hundred and eighty-three British ships. The British men of war and privateers took from the Spaniards twenty-two privateers, ten register-ships, and eighty-eight merchantmen. From the French we took seven men of war, ninety-one privateers, and three hundred and twelve merchant vessels.

The French ministry, notwithstanding their late disappointment in North America, were determined to encrease their force in Canada, and, with the assistance of Canadians and Indians, to extend their territories by encroachments on the neighbouring provinces belonging to Great Britain. At the same time they formed a design against some of our settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes, in the beginning of the year 1747, a considerable armament was prepared at Brest; the squadron destined for America, under the command of Monsieur Jonquerre, and that for the East Indies, commanded by Monsieur De St. George. For greater security, these two fleets were to sail at the same time.

The British ministry, being informed of the strength and destination of this squadron, sent a superior fleet to the coast of France, commanded by Vice-admiral Anson. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruising off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of

May, fell in with the French fleet consisting of thirty-eight sail, nine of which shortened sail and prepared to engage, whilst the rest bore away with all the sail they could make. Admiral Anson first formed his squadron in line of battle; but, perceiving the enemy begin to sheer off, he made a signal for his whole fleet to give chace, and engage promiscuously. The Centurion came up with the sternmost ship of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the Namur, Defiance, and Windsor, who were soon warmly engaged with five of the French squadron. The Centurion had her main-top-mast shot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop astern; but she was soon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great spirit and gallantry, till about seven in the evening, when the whole fleet struck their colours. The Diamant was the last French ship that submitted, after fighting the Bristol near three hours. In justice to our enemy, it is necessary to remember, that the squadron commanded by Admiral Anson, consisted of fourteen ships of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and a fire-ship, with 922 guns, and 6260 men on board; and that Monsieur De la Jonquiere had no more than five line of battle ships, and as many frigates, 442 guns, and 3171 men. Admiral Anson, in the mean time, detached the Monmouth the Yarmouth, and the Nottingham, in pursuit of the convoy, and they returned with the Vigilant and Modeste, both of twenty-two guns, the rest having made their escape But though we acknowledge the great superiority of the British squadron, it is necessary to inform the reader, that no more than eight English ships were engaged. Captain Grenville, of the Defiance, a very gallant officer, lost his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and twenty; that of the enemy to seven hundred. Captain Boscawen was wounded in the shoulder by a musquet-ball. Monsieur

De la Jonquiere was also wounded in the same part; one French captain was killed, and another lost a leg.

Admiral Anson returned to England, and brought the captive squadron safe to an anchor at Spithead. He set out immediately for London, where he was graciously received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear-admiral Warren was made knight of the bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, Captain Fox in the Kent, with the Hampton-Court, the Eagle, the Lion, the Chester and the Hector, with two fireships, sailed on a cruize, designing to intercept a fleet of St. Domingo-men under the convoy of four French men of war. After cruising a month between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, Captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of 170 sail. They were immediately deserted by their men of war, and forty-six of them were taken.

The British ministry having received intelligence, that nine French men of war of the line had sailed from Brest, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchantmen to the West Indies, ordered Rear-admiral Hawke, with fourteen men of war, to sail immediately in quest of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of August. The French fleet, consisting of the abovementioned men of war and two hundred and fifty-two merchant vessels, sailed from the Isle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the British squadron. As soon as the French admiral became sensible of his situation he made a signal for the trade to make the best of their way, with the Content and frigates, and for the rest of his squadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke first made a signal to form the line; but finding the French begin to sheer off, he ordered his

whole fleet to give chace, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The Lion and the Louisa began the conflict about noon; and were soon followed by the Tilbury, the Eagle, the Yarmouth, the Windsor, and the Devonshire, which ships particularly shared the danger and consequently the glory of the day.

About four o'clock four of the French squadron struck, *viz.* Le Neptune, Le Monarque, Le Fougueux, and the Severn; at five Le Trident followed their example, and Le Terrible surrendered about seven. Be it however remembered, to the credit of their several commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great spirit and resolution, and that they did not submit until they were entirely disabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about eight hundred, and of prisoners three thousand three hundred men. M. Fromentierre, who commanded Le Neptune, was among the slain, and their commander in chief was wounded in the leg and in the shoulder. The English had one hundred and fifty-four killed, and five hundred and fifty-eight wounded. Captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham, was among the former. We lost no other officer of distinction. On the last day of October Admiral Hawke brought these six French men of war to Portsmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his services, was soon after honoured with the Order of the Bath. He was dissatisfied with the behaviour of Captain Fox in the engagement, who was tried by a court-martial and deprived of his command; but he was restored about two years after.

Vice-admiral Medley, who commanded a fleet of fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean, died there on the 5th of August, and was succeeded by Rear-admiral Byng, who continued to block up the Spanish squadron in Carthagena, and to act in concert with the Austrian general on the coast of Italy. Rear-admiral Chambers commanded nine men of war in the channel, and on the 1st of November Rear-

admiral Boscawen sailed for the East Indies with six ships of the line.

During this year the English took from the French and Spaniards six hundred and forty-four prizes, among which were seventeen French and one Spanish men of war. The English vessels, including one man of war and a fire-ship, taken by the French and Spaniards, amounted to five hundred and fifty-one. The royal navy of Spain was now reduced to twenty-two ships of the line, and that of France to thirty-one; while the navy of Britain amounted to one hundred and twenty-six sail of the line, besides seventy-five frigates.

Being arrived at the last year of this general war, I shall begin with the history of our naval transactions in the West Indies, where the British fleet was now commanded by Rear-admiral Knowles. He sailed from Jamaica, on the 13th of February, with eight ships of the line, on an expedition against St. Jago de Cuba; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that island, Port Louis, in Hispaniola, became the object of his hostile intentions, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Port Louis was defended by a strong fort, mounting seventy-eight guns, with a garrison of six hundred men, commanded by M. De Chaleaunoye. The admiral began his attack immediately on his arrival, and after three hours violent cannonading, silenced the fort, which surrendered on the following terms, *viz.* The garrison not to serve against the king of Great Britain or his allies during a year; that they should march out with their arms, but without cannon, mortars, or ammunition; that the officers should retain their private baggage and servants; that the town should be spared on certain conditions to be settled next morning. The garrison lost one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, and the fleet seventy. Among the slain were the Captains Rentone

and Cust, the last of whom was a volunteer in the expedition.

Admiral Knowles having entirely destroyed the fort, resumed his former design against St. Jago de Cuba, where he arrived on the 5th of April. The Plymouth and the Cornwall were ordered to enter the harbour; but finding a boom across and four vessels filled with combustibles, after firing a few broadsides at the castle, they judged it prudent to desist, and the squadron returned to Jamaica. Captain Dent of the Plymouth was afterwards, at the request of the admiral, tried by a court-martial for not forcing the boom, and was honourably acquitted.

From this time the British and Spanish fleets were solely employed in cruising in detachments against the trade of each nation. Towards the latter end of August Admiral Knowles, having received intelligence that the annual fleet from Vera Cruz was daily expected at the Havannah, began to cruise off the banks of Tortuga. The Spanish Admiral Reggio, being informed of the vicinity of the English squadron, and of the consequent danger of the expected fleet, sailed from the Havannah, determined to give Admiral Knowles battle. On the 29th of September, Admiral Reggio saw, at a distance, fourteen sail of English merchantmen, under convoy of two men of war; he gave them chace, but they had the good fortune to escape, and the Lenox, having made a signal for his convoy to save themselves by flight, joined Admiral Knowles, who, on the first of October, fell in with the Spanish squadron near the Havannah.

By a comparison of the two squadrons, it appears that in number of ships they were equal; that in number of guns the Spaniards were somewhat superior, and that in number of men they exceeded us by one thousand two hundred and fifty. The English admiral, though he had the advantage of the wind, did

not at first seem over anxious to engage. About two o'clock the Spaniards began to fire at a distance. Admiral Knowles then made a signal for his squadron to bear down upon the enemy, and in less than half an hour most of the ships were engaged. The two admirals fought each other about half an hour, when Admiral Knowles, having received some damage, fell astern and quitted the line. The Conquestadore, being likewise injured in her rigging, was also obliged to quit the line of battle, and before she had time to repair the damage which she had sustained, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the British admiral, who had now replaced the yard and main-top-mast which he had lost in his engagement with the Africa. They fought for some time with great obstinacy. The Spanish captain was killed, and the Conquestadore finally struck to the Cornwall. The general action continued till eight in the evening, when the Spaniards began to edge away towards the Havannah, and got safe into port, except the Conquestadore and the Africa, which last being entirely dismasted, was run on shore and blown up by the Spanish admiral. The Spaniards had in this action three captains and eighty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded; among the latter were Admiral Reggio and fourteen other officers. The English, though they had fifty-nine killed and one hundred and twenty wounded, were so fortunate as not to lose a single officer.

After this action the English captains were by no means satisfied with each other's conduct. The admiral himself was accused by some of them, and he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded for not hoisting his flag on board another ship after his own was disabled. It seems, indeed, very probable, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, that if the English fleet had been commanded by a Hawke, not a single Spaniard would have escaped.

This was the last naval action of importance previously to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October 1748. The English, during this year, took three French and one Spanish men of war. The whole number of vessels taken from the Spaniards since the commencement of the war amounted to one thousand two hundred and forty-nine; from the French to two thousand one hundred and eighty-five: in all three thousand four hundred and thirty-four. The entire loss of the English amounted to three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight ships.

When we consider the immense value of these captures; when we reflect that most of this wealth was private property; when we count the number of lives that have been sacrificed during the war, and recollect that all the people sacrificed were neither consulted nor concerned in the contest: when we farther reflect, that all the princes who caused this horrible destruction of life and property, professed the religion of peace, charity, philanthropy and concord, we are disgusted with human nature, and laugh at the pretensions that kings make to Christianity. But what will the reader think of these mighty potentates, when he is told, that, after all this waste of blood and treasure, the war ended just where it began. None of the contending powers retained any part of their acquisitions, the 5th article of the treaty of peace having stipulated, that all conquests whatsoever should be restored; consequently Cape Breton was restored to the French, and Madras to the English. Great Britain had now increased her national debt to eighty millions, and her sole consolation was her having reduced the navy of France to a state of contemptible insignificance. As to that nation, the terms of peace were easily settled, because we fought with her without any previous cause of quarrel or dispute; she began the war merely in consequence of her alliance with Spain: but against that nation we

commenced hostilities, solely with a design to secure an uninterrupted navigation to our own settlements; nevertheless, strange as it may seem, this important article was entirely neglected, or forgotten, by our plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle. Our right to cut logwood in Campeachy and Honduras, an article of equal consequence to this nation, was also left undetermined. But these were not the only examples of inattention, I cannot suppose it ignorance in the British ministry at this very important period. The French, in consequence of possessing Canada, had, for many years past, been gradually extending the limits of that province, and, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht, their encroachments were now flagrant and oppressive to our North American colonies: yet the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded without this notorious cause of complaint being mentioned by the British plenipotentiaries. The limits of Nova Scotia, another doubtful point, were also left undetermined.

From this precarious state of affairs it was easy to foresee, that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be of no long duration; and, from the conduct of the French immediately after, their latent intentions were obvious. But before we proceed to develope the principle of the succeeding war, it is necessary to record certain transactions in the British parliament, which are immediately connected with our naval history.

The ministry, for very wise reasons, no doubt, brought a bill into parliament, under the title of, "A bill for reducing into one act the laws relating to the navy;" by which the half-pay officers were to be rendered subject to martial law. The sea-officers took the alarm: they assembled, and presented a petition to the house requesting to be heard by their counsel, and though the minister mustered sufficient strength to reject the petition, he thought proper to relinquish his unconstitutional attempt. Another

plan, relative to the navy, was also offered to the consideration of parliament, *viz.* to register a certain number of seamen, who, for an annual stipend, should be liable to serve when called upon. This project, being calculated to supersede the illegal necessity of pressing, appeared rational; nevertheless Mr. Pelham found it to be an unpopular measure, and therefore gave it up.

In the course of this year, 1748, the earl of Halifax, who presided at the board of trade, formed a design of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. His project was approved, and four thousand adventurers, under the protection of Colonel Cornwallis, sailed from England, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, in the neighbourhood of which they built a town and called it Halifax. The French were displeased with this exertion of our right, and, by way of counterbalance, attempted to make a settlement on the island of Tobago in the West Indies; but, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, they thought proper to desist. They continued, nevertheless to assert their title to St. Lucia, Tobago, and other neutral islands; and in North America their daily encroachments were so daring, that the subjects of Great Britain bordering on the French settlements, became very loud in their complaints to our ministry. The French ministry, according to custom, endeavoured to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame on the governor of Canada. After several ineffectual memorials and remonstrances delivered by our ambassador at Paris, commissaries, of each nation, were appointed, in the year 1750, to settle the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia. These commissaries met at Paris, and proceeded with all that deliberate circumspection which is generally observed by servants of the public whose stipends must end with their commission. The French commissaries, in order to gain time by evading the main question, drew their antagonists into a discussion

concerning the island of St. Lucia. Meanwhile the Indians bordering on the British dominions in North America, were instigated by the French to commence their barbarous hostilities against the defenceless inhabitants of our back settlements. The Spaniards, in 1752, began again their former practice, of insolently interrupting our navigation in the West Indies by their guarda-costas, and in Europe the navy both of France and Spain were daily augmenting. In 1753, the conference at Paris, concerning the limits of Nova-Scotia, ended without effect; and the French continued to extend their dominions in North America, by erecting a chain of forts along the lakes of Erie and Ontario, so as to connect their settlements on the Mississippi with Canada. At length, presuming on the amazing supineness of the British ministry, they crossed Lake Champlain, and built a fort at Crown-Point, in the province of New York. A reader of English history, who reflects as he reads, when he meets with such examples of inactivity, such want of vigilance, such impolitic procrastination, is necessarily led to inquire into the cause. Is it to be attributed to our natural or political constitution? Be this as it may, what we lose in power, as in mechanics, we sometimes gain in time.

The French ministry, notwithstanding such flagrant acts of hostility in America, continued to amuse the court of London with repeated assurances of friendship. But early in the year 1755, certain intelligence was received, that a considerable fleet of men of war was preparing to sail from different ports in France to America, with a formidable number of land-forces on board. The British ministry, roused at this intelligence, gave immediate orders to equip a squadron of men of war, and, towards the latter end of April, Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, sailed for America. He was soon after

followed by Admiral Holbourne with six line-of-battle ships and one frigate, the ministry having received subsequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, &c. This fleet sailed from Brest in the beginning of May; but, after sailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the English channel, Monsieur Macnamara, the commander-in-chief, returned to Brest, with nine of the capital ships, and the rest proceeded to North America under the command of Monsieur Bois De la Mothe. Admiral Boscawen's orders were to attack the French fleet wheresoever he should meet with it. Being joined by Admiral Holbourne, he continued cruising off the Banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron in their attempt to enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But the thick fog, so frequent on that coast, favoured their enterprise, and Monsieur De la Mothe arrived safe at Quebec with his whole squadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, the first of sixty-four guns and four hundred and eighty men; the second of twenty-two, though pierced for sixty-four with eight companies of land forces on board. These two unfortunate ships fell in with the Dunkirk, Captain Howe, and the Defiance, Captain Andrews, both sixty-gun ships. After a resolute engagement of five hours, the French ships struck. On board the Lys were several officers of distinction, and about 80,000*l.* sterling.

From the capture of these two ships the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As soon as it was known in Europe, the French ambassador left London, and the British ministry issued general orders for making reprisals in every part of the globe. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year. On the 21st of July, Sir Edward Hawke

sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, and, on the 14th of October, Admiral Byng proceeded to sea with twenty-two ships. Both these fleets returned without meeting with any thing worth their attention. The French nevertheless bore these insults with a degree of patience which astonished all Europe. But they were not yet prepared for war: their alliances were yet unformed, and their fleet was much inferior to that of Great Britain, which, at this time, consisted of two hundred and thirteen men of war; that of France, including ships upon the stocks, amounted to no more than one hundred and thirteen.

In the beginning of this year Major-general Braddock sailed from Cork, with two regiments of foot, for Virginia, with orders to dispossess the French of the lands they had unjustly usurped. That general was totally defeated, and slain, by an ambuscade of Indians. I have before observed, that three hundred French merchantmen were brought into the ports of England; and all this without a declaration of war. The British ministry intended, by this extraordinary conduct, to validate their defensive alliances, and that the private property of the subjects of France might not suffer, the several cargoes of the ships taken were ordered not to be touched. But this appearance of strict justice was a mere chimera, because many of these cargoes consisted of perishable commodities, and consequently proved a loss to the owners, without producing any profit to those by whom they were taken. The French had evidently, and flagrantly, broken the bonds of peace by their audacious encroachments in America, so palpably contradictory to the tenor of treaties between the two nations. For the credit of England, I wish that a formal declaration of war had preceded the first act of hostility on our part. Previously to such declaration, every act of hostility is a piracy against

the subjects of either nation. It is surely a sufficient hardship for subjects to be ruinously involved in the quarrels of their superiors after such quarrels are notorious; but to feel the horrible effects of such quarrels, whilst these superiors wear the mask of mutual friendship, requires a greater degree of patience than any subjects can be supposed to possess. We now proceed to the naval history of the year 1756.

About the close of the preceding year, overtures of accommodation were made on the part of France by Monsieur Rouille, secretary of state, in a private letter to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic Majesty. But as this application was calculated only to amuse the English ministry, in order to gain time, it produced no other effect. The French, having now augmented their navy very considerably, ordered all the British subjects in France to depart the kingdom, published an edict for the encouragement of privateers, seized every English vessel in their ports, and sent their crews to prison. They then began to threaten us with an invasion, and, in order to give this project an air of probability, were extremely busy in their military preparations on the coast of the British Channel. But the design of these preparations was merely to divert our attention from their armaments in the Mediterranean, where the blow was really intended. The king, the ministry, and their adherents in parliament, were, however, so completely duped by this French manœuvre, that Hessian and Hanoverian troops were sent for to protect us, and the repeated authentic information concerning the equipment and destination of the Toulon fleet totally disregarded. There never was a more flagrant example of obstinate infatuation.

At length the destination of the armament at Toulon was so certainly and universally known, that the British ministry started suddenly from their apathy,

and, like men just awoke from a sound slumber, began to act before they had recovered their senses. It was known to all Europe, that the French squadron at Toulon consisted of thirteen ships of the line, and that fifteen thousand land forces were there ready for embarkation: nevertheless, only ten British ships were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to Admiral Byng, a man whose courage and abilities were yet untried. With this squadron, not completely manned, without either hospital or fire-ship, he sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board Major-general Stuart, Lord Effingham, Colonel Cornwallis, and about forty inferior officers, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca; also a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the Louisa, Captain Edgcombe who informed him, that he had been driven from Minorca by a French squadron of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by Monsieur Galissoniere, who had landed 15,000 men on that island. Admiral Byng gave immediate orders for the ships to complete their provisions and water with all possible expedition. On the third day after his arrival, he went on shore to confer with General Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be transported to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three several letters of instruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the Admiralty to Admiral Byng. These several orders, which were then compared and considered by a council of war at Gibraltar, being matter of importance to every future commander, whether at land or sea, I must intreat the reader, before he proceeds, to consider attentively Admiral Byng's instruc-

tions, which he will find in the Appendix, No. I. and then to read carefully the orders sent from the war-office to General Fowke, which he will find at the bottom of this page.*

The council of war, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required; first, because it appeared, by Lord Barrington's first letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar; and, secondly, because it was the opinion of the engineers, who were well acquainted with Minorca, that to throw succours into St. Philip's would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. But this resolution of the council of war was certainly wrong: for though it appeared by Lord Barrington's first letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar, that order was evidently contradicted by Admiral Byng's instructions of a later date, and the order for sending a battalion to Minorca was repeated and confirmed. However, the council of war consented, that one captain, six subalterns, five drums, and 235 privates, should be embarked, to supply the deficiency of those left at Minorca by Captain Edgecombe, and without which his ships would have been of little service in case of an engagement. With regard to Admiral Byng's orders, though they were in many respects conditional, his orders to save Minorca, at all events, were positive and explicit, and this he ought to have effected, even at the risk of sacrificing his whole fleet.

* Lord Barrington's letter to General Fowke, dated the 21st of March, says, "The king has ordered the royal regiment of Fuzileers to embark immediately for Gibraltar, and that upon their arrival you are to make a detachment equal to a battalion, from the four regiments in garrison, to Minorca." The second letter, without any reference to the first, repeats the order for embarking a battalion on board the fleet; for the relief of Minorca, in case there was any probability of its being attacked; and the third letter, dated April 1st orders the governor to receive such women and children, belonging to the Fuzileers, as Admiral Byng should think fit to land.

Be this as it may, he sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and, on the 16th, arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the Phœnix, Captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the siege of St. Philip. He then steered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that island until the morning of the 19th, when he saw the English flag still flying on the castle of St. Philip, and several bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. There have been British admirals, who at such a prospect, would have sworn to relieve the garrison, or perish in the attempt! Early in the morning, the admiral dispatched Captain Hervey, in the Phœnix, with the Chesterfield and Dolphin, with orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if possible, to convey a letter to General Blakeney.* Captain Hervey got round the Laire

* Though this letter from the admiral was not delivered, it is necessary that the reader should know its contents; because no circumstance ought to be concealed which may, in any degree, tend to elucidate a transaction attended by such serious consequences.

"TO GENERAL BLAKENEY.

"SIR,

"I send you this by Captain Hervey, of his Majesty's ship Phœnix, who has my orders to convey it to you, if possible, together with the enclosed packet, which he received at Leghorn. I am extremely concerned to find that Captain Edgecombe was obliged to retire to Gibraltar with the ships under his command, and that the French are landed, and St. Philip's castle is invested; as I flatter myself, had I fortunately been more timely in the Mediterranean, that I should have been able to have prevented the enemy's getting a footing in the island of Minorca. I am to acquaint you, that General Stuart, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Cornwallis, with about thirty officers, and some recruits belonging to the different regiments now in garrison with you, are on board the ships of the squadron; and shall be glad to know, by the return of the officer, what place you will think proper to have them landed at. The royal regiment of English Fuzileers, commanded by Lord Robert Bertie, is likewise on board the squadron, destined, agreeable to my orders, to serve on board the fleet in the Mediterranean, unless it should be thought necessary, upon consultation with you, to land the regiment for

before nine o'clock in the morning; he made signals to the garrison for a boat to come off; but without effect, and the admiral, about this time, discovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Admiral Byng now stood towards the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a signal for the line of battle a-head. He then distributed as many seamen as could be spared from the frigates, on board such ships as were most in want of hands, and converted the Phœnix into a fire-ship. At seven in the evening the French squadron, being then about two leagues distant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the English admiral, not chusing to relinquish that advantage, also put his ships about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be discovered; but it became visible before noon, and at two o'clock Admiral Byng made a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral West was then at too great a distance to comply with both these orders; he therefore bore away seven points from the wind, and with his whole division attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that several of their ships were soon obliged to quit the line. Had Admiral Byng been equally alert and eager to engage, it is most probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca saved; but the enemy's centre keeping their station, and Byng's division not advancing, Admiral West was prevented from pursu-

the defence of Minorca; but I must also inform you, should the Fuzileers be landed, as they are part of the ships' complements, the marines having been ordered by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty on board of other ships at Portsmouth, to make room for them, that it will disable the squadron from acting against that of the enemy, which I am informed, is cruising off the island; however, I shall gladly embrace every opportunity of promoting his Majesty's service in the most effectual manner, and shall assist you to distress the enemy, and defeat their designs to the utmost of my power.

ing his advantage, by the apprehension of being separated from the rest of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the Intrepid, the sternmost ship of the van, lost her foretop-mast, which, according to Byng's account of the action, obliged his whole division to back their sails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared, that immediately after the signal for engaging, whilst the van were bearing down upon the enemy, Admiral Byng, in the Ramillies, edged away some points, by which means the Trident and Louisa got to windward of him, and that, in order to bring them again into their stations, he backed his mizen-top-sail, and endeavoured to back his main-top-sail. This manœuvre necessarily retarded all the ships in his division, and gave the enemy time to escape. M. Galissoniere seized the opportunity, and, his ships being clean, was soon out of danger. But Admiral Byng, before the engagement, ordered the Deptford to quit the line, in order to reduce his line of battle to the same number of ships as that of the enemy. For this apparent generosity he was censured by the court-martial: nevertheless, there does not appear to be any great impropriety in reserving one or more supernumerary ships in readiness to supply the place of those which may happen to be disabled.

From this relation of facts, the reader will easily perceive that Admiral Byng's conduct was by no means justifiable. The naval reader sees very clearly, from the situation of the two fleets, relative to the wind, that he might have fought if he would; and, from a comparison of the two fleets, it will seem more than probable, to those who are acquainted with the superior activity and skill of our sailors in time of action, that a decisive victory might have

been expected.* Whether Admiral Byng's conduct is justly to be ascribed to his excessive prudence, his want of skill, or want of courage, is difficult to determine. Probably these three causes operated in conjunction to produce the fatal effect. The only plausible argument that can be urged in extenuation of this admiral's conduct is, that he might be too strongly imprest by the recollection of Mathews and Lestock; the first of whom was punished for fighting, not according to rule, and the latter not punished, though he did not fight at all.

The English had, in this engagement, forty-two men killed, and one hundred and sixty-eight wounded; the French, one hundred and forty-five wounded, and twenty-six killed. Captain Andrews, of the

* ENGLISH.

	Guns.	Men.
Ramillies,	90	780
Culloden,	74	600
Buckingham,	68	535
Lancaster,	66	520
Trident,	64	500
Intrepid,	64	480
Captain,	64	480
Revenge,	64	480
Kingston,	60	400
Defiance,	60	400
Louisa,	56	400
Portland,	48	300
	778	5875
Frigates.		
Deptford,	48	280
Chesterfield,	40	350
Phœnix,	22	160
Dolphin,	22	160
Experiment,	22	160
	932	6885

FRENCH.

	Guns.	Men.
Foudroyant,	84	950
La Couronne,	74	800
Le Guerrier,	74	800
Le Temeraire,	74	800
Le Redoubtable,	74	800
L'Hipopotham,	64	600
Le Fier,	64	600
Le Triton,	64	600
Le Lion,	64	600
Le Content,	64	600
Le Sage,	64	600
L'Orphée,	64	600
	828	8350
Frigates.		
La Juno,	46	300
La Rose,	30	250
Gracieuse,	30	250
La Topez,	24	250
La Nymph,	24	200
	982	9600

Defiance, was the only officer of distinction, on board the English fleet, who lost his life on this occasion. The French fleet soon disappeared, and at eight in the evening, Admiral Byng made a signal for his squadron to bring to, at which time the Intrepid and the Chesterfield were missing: the former, being disabled, had been left to the care of the latter. They joined the fleet next morning, and the admiral then finding that three of his squadron were damaged in their masts, called a council of war, at which General Stuart, Lord Effingham, Lord Robert Bertie, and Colonel Cornwallis were requested to assist.

The council of war being assembled on board of the Ramillies, the following questions were proposed by Admiral Byng:

1. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any prospect of relieving Minorca. Answer. It would not.

2. If there was no French fleet cruising off Minorca, whether the English fleet could raise the siege? Ans. It could not.

3. Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befal this fleet? Ans. It would be in danger.

4. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the present state of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the safety of Gibraltar, and expose the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard? Ans. It would.

5. Whether it is not for his Majesty's service, that the fleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar? Ans. It should proceed for Gibraltar.

Here I must beg leave to retard the progress of our history a few moments, for the sake of the naval reader, to whom the consideration of these five resolutions may prove of infinite importance; these volumes being written with an intention, not only to record the heroic virtues of our naval commanders in times past; not only to amuse the gentlemen, who, in the present age have the honour to serve on board

the British fleet; but to animate, to inform, and to warn them by example; I have, more than once, observed, and the truth of my observation hath been frequently confirmed, that councils of war seldom forebode much heroism. When a commander-in-chief, whose power is absolute, condescends to ask advice of his inferiors, it is a tacit acknowledgment, that his abilities are inadequate to his power; or that he is inclined to do that for which he dares not be responsible. I do not believe, there was one member of this council of war, who, if the five resolutions had depended upon his single voice, would not have answered them all in the negative. I am also of opinion, that if Admiral Byng had been positively ordered to call no councils of war, but to relieve Minorca at all events, he would have destroyed the French fleet, saved the island, and would have returned triumphant to Britain; unless we are to suppose him constitutionally a coward; for on such a being, the present, though least, danger always acts most powerfully.

How this council of war could determine, that it was impossible to relieve Minorca, without ever making the least attempt for that purpose, is incredibly astonishing; and, indeed, it afterwards appeared, that the troops on board might have been landed at the sally-port with little danger: for Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, actually went out to sea in a small boat, in search of the English fleet, and returned safe to the garrison. As to their concern for the safety of Gibraltar, their apprehensions were in the highest degree ridiculous. According, however, to the fifth resolution of the council, Admiral Byng returned with his fleet to Gibraltar, and Galissoniere to his former station off Cape Mola. How the garrison of St. Philip's must have been affected, when they beheld the French squadron return triumphant, and afterwards heard a *feu de joye* in the enemy's camp, may be easily conceived. The besiegers had doubt-

less cause to rejoice at the safe return of their fleet, though not on account of any victory obtained by their admiral; for the two admirals evidently ran from each other. But though the garrison were not a little disappointed at Byng's disappearance, they nevertheless defended the castle till the 28th of June, when, despairing of relief from England, and rationally supposing that, in the great system of politics, they were intended to be sacrificed, after a gallant defence of ten weeks, the venerable Blakeney, on very honourable terms, surrendered Minorca to the Duc De Richlieu.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where Commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ships of the line, which were sent from England in consequence of certain intelligence that the French were fitting out more ships at Toulon. Thus enforced, Admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garrison; but while he was with great activity preparing for this second enterprise, the Antelope of 50 guns arrived at Gibraltar. On board of this ship were Admiral Hawke, Admiral Saunders, and Lord Tyrawley, who were commissioned to supersede and arrest Admiral Byng, Admiral West, and Governor Fowke. The three delinquents were, accordingly, sent on board the Antelope, and returned prisoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, sailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to see the French flag flying on St. Philip's castle. As soon as the garrison surrendered, Galissoniere prudently retired to Toulon, where he remained in security, whilst Sir Edward Hawke asserted the naval empire of Great Britain, in sight of an enemy elated with the conquest of a small island, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquish. This conquest, though really insignificant, caused such ex-

travagant exultation in France, such an universal *Te Deum laudamus*, that one might rationally have supposed the British empire totally annihilated.

The people of England, on the contrary, received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general dissatisfaction, and, without the least enquiry into the conduct of the ministry, pointed all their resentment against that unfortunate admiral. The ministry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the resentment of the people from themselves. That Mr. Byng's conduct was, in many respects, extremely reprehensible, is most certain; but it is not less certain, that the ministry were equally inexcusable, for not sending troops to Minorca much sooner, and for not giving Byng a superior fleet. If the five ships which afterwards sailed to his assistance, had made part of his squadron, Galissoniere must have fled at his approach, and Minorca would infallibly have been saved. But these reflections, whilst they fix eternal obloquy on the administration, do not exculpate the admiral. The exigency and importance of the service on which he was sent, required a sacrifice of prudence to necessity. Our history affords many examples of English fleets obtaining a complete victory over an enemy far superior in number of guns and men; but these victories were gained by admirals who disdained to calculate the exact weight of metal in each squadron.

Admiral Byng, Admiral West, and General Fowke, arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where Admiral West was graciously received by the king. The general was tried for disobedience of orders in not sending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and sentenced to be suspended for a year. The king confirmed the sentence, and afterwards dismissed him the service. Admiral Byng, after continuing some time in arrest at Portsmouth, was escorted to Greenwich-hospital, where he remained close prisoner till December, the

time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the St. George in Portsmouth harbour. The court martial consisted of four admirals, and ninecaptains of the navy.* They sat a month, daily examining evidence for and against the prisoner. Admiral West deposed, that he saw no reason why the rear-division might not have engaged the enemy as close as did the van, and that there was no signal made for giving chace when the French sheered off. General Blakeney deposed, that, on the 20th of May, boats might have passed between the fleet and the garrison with great security, and that if the troops ordered for his relief had been landed, he could have held out till the arrival of Sir Edward Hawke. Captain Young of the Intrepid, declared, that the loss of his fore-top-mast did not appear to prevent the rear-division from bearing down upon the enemy. Captain Gardiner deposed, that he advised the admiral to bear down, but without effect, and that, on the day of the action, the admiral took the command of the Ramillies entirely upon himself.—— These cogent depositions were corroborated by other witnesses, and not in the least degree invalidated by any counter-evidence in favour of the delinquent. But some of the officers who were on board his ship, and near him during the engagement, deposed, that he discovered no signs of confusion, or want of personal courage, but that he gave his orders distinctly, and with apparent coolness. The admiral's speech in his defence, was inadequate to the great purpose of effacing the impression which the powerful evidence against him had made upon the court; they, therefore, found him guilty of a breach of that part of the twelfth article of war, which says,—" or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all

* Admirals. Smith president: Holbourne, Norris, Broderick.
Captains. Holmes, Boys, Simcoe, Bentley, Dennis, Geary, Moore, Douglas, Keppel.

and every of his Majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve." He was, therefore, sentenced to be shot, that being the punishment positively ordained for a breach of this article. The court, however, being of opinion, that Admiral Byng's misconduct did not proceed from want of courage or disaffection, added to the report of their proceedings to the lords of the Admiralty, a petition, requesting their lordships most earnestly to recommend him to his Majesty's clemency.

The lords of the Admiralty, having compared the sentence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth article of war, which are, "Every person in the fleet, who through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall," &c. and not finding the crime of negligence, he being acquitted of the other two, imputed by the court, were in doubt concerning the legality of the sentence; they, therefore, presented a memorial to the king, requesting, that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken. This was accordingly done, and the judges pronounced it a legal sentence. After the lords of the Admiralty had signed a warrant for Admiral Byng's execution, some of the members of the court-martial expressed a wish to be released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy. A bill for this purpose, accordingly passed the House of Commons; but when it came to a second reading in the House of Lords, each member of the court-martial was separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent. Strange as it may seem, they all answered in the negative! and, on the 14th of March, Admiral John Byng was shot on board the Monarque, in the harbour of Portsmouth.

This exemplary punishment of a British admiral, was an event so singular, and so interesting to every gentleman of the navy, that it seems to require a few reflections before we dismiss the subject. That the admiral did not exert his utmost power against the

enemy, is very evident; and it is equally apparent, his fleet having the advantage of the wind, that his fighting or not fighting was matter of choice. Hence, it necessarily follows, allowing that he ought to have fought, that he either wanted judgment or resolution. As to judgment, it certainly required very little, to comprehend the importance of the service on which he was sent, and still less knowledge of the history of human events, not to know, that, when great achievements are required, something must be left to fortune, regardless of the calculation of chances, In all battles, whether at sea or in the field, fortuitous events have vast influence; but in naval combats most frequently, where a single accidental shot from a frigate may disable a first rate man of war. This consideration is alone sufficient to determine any commander of a king's ship, never to strike so long as he can swim, be the force of his antagonist ever so superior. Upon the whole, I believe we may equitably conclude, that Admiral Byng was constitutionally deficient in that degree of personal intrepidity, by no means essential to the character of a private gentleman, but which is the *sine qua non* of a British admiral. The justice of punishing a man for a constitutional defect, rests solely on his accepting his commission with the articles of war in his hand. But, admitting that we are satisfied in regard to the justice of his execution, in consequence of the sentence of the court-martial, we are not at all satisfied with the conduct of that, or those members of that court, who were so anxious to be released from their oath of secrecy as to push an act for that purpose through the House of Commons, and who afterwards spoke another language at the bar of the House of Lords. Truth or calumny, I know not which, have whispered, that Lord Anson's private remonstrances deprived Byng of that last ray of hope, which some scruples of conscience gave him reason to expect, and the public

of that satisfaction which they have still a right to demand. I say this on a presumption that the person alluded to is now living. [1779]

The pursuit of this tragedy to its catastrophe having carried us somewhat beyond the limits of the year 1756, it is necessary that we should now resume the thread of our relation of such public transactions as were connected with the naval history of this kingdom. Hitherto, we have seen Great Britain and France actually at war, without the ceremony of an open declaration. Why this formality was so long deferred must be ascribed to political considerations, by which the ministers of both countries, were influenced; but how cogent soever these considerations might seem to a cabinet-council, a piratical war between two polished nations is unjust to the subjects of both: the reason is obvious. However, in the beginning of May, the British ministry being no longer in doubt concerning the invasion of Minorca by the French, determined to throw off the mask; accordingly a declaration of war with that nation was published in London, on the 18th, and on the 9th of June, war with England was proclaimed at Paris.

One principal design of this history being to perpetuate the names of such naval commanders, as, by their gallant actions, deserve to be recorded in the annals of Britain, I cannot omit an engagement which happened on the 17th of May off Rochfort, between the Colchester, of 50 guns, commanded by Captain O'Brian, and the Lime, of 20 guns, with the Aquilon, of 48 guns, M. De Maurville, and the Fidelle, of 36 guns, M. De Litardais. They were within gun-shot about six in the evening, and soon came to so close an engagement, that the fore-sail of the Lime was set on fire by the wads of the Fidelle, against whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of strength, she maintained a glorious contest upwards of five hours; when the Fidelle retreated firing signals of distress,

and the Lime was so shattered as to be totally incapable of making any sail ahead. The Colchester and the Aquilon fought with equal intrepidity till past midnight, and then parted with mutual honour and satisfaction. Previously to this action, the Warwick of 60 guns, Captain Shuldham, off Martinico, falling in with three French men of war, was taken, after an obstinate running fight, in which she lost her captain and a considerable number of men.

Our fleet in North America was, during this year, not totally inactive. A French man of war of 50 guns, called L'Arc-en-ciel, with troops and military stores for Louisbourg, was taken off that port by the Norwich and Litchfield, both 50 gun ships, belonging to Admiral Spry's squadron. On the 26th of July, off the harbour of Louisbourg, Commodore Holmes on board the Grafton, with the Nottingham, and the Hornet and Jamaica sloops, fell in with two French men of war, Le Hero, L'Illustre, and two frigates, which were returning from Canada. The enemy being to windward, Commodore Holmes stood towards them, as near the wind as he could lie. The French squadron bore down upon him till within about two leagues distance, when the English tacked with a design to cut the enemy off from the port of Louisbourg; but they hauled in for it, and came to an anchor about noon. Commodore Holmes pursued them till within a league of the harbour, where he laid to till four in the afternoon, and then made sail to the eastward. As soon as it was dark, he dispatched the Hornet sloop to Halifax, to request a reinforcement, being much inferior to the enemy. At eight next morning, the four French ships, above-mentioned, weighed anchor, sailed out of the harbour, and gave him chace. The English ships stood from the enemy at first, and fought them for some time with their stern chace only; but the Grafton at length hauled up her coursers, bunted her main-sail, and bore down

upon the French commodore, who was also attacked by the Nottingham. L'Illustre was prevented from assisting his partner, by a sudden calm; but a breeze springing up soon after, the French were again united about seven in the evening. At dusk, the battle ended, and the two squadrons separated. According to the French account of this engagement, the two English ships sheered off when they saw the Illustre coming up; and next morning, Monsieur Beausier, the commodore, finding the English at too great a distance, returned to Louisbourg, with the loss of eighteen men killed, and forty-eight wounded. The English account, on the contrary, assures us, that, before it grew dark, the French sheered off, and next morning, prevented a renewal of the action, by bearing away right before the wind for Louisbourg. The Hero was considerably injured. The Grafton had six men killed and twenty-one wounded.

Spain, at this time, affected to entertain sentiments of sincere friendship towards England, and declared herself determined to maintain the strictest neutrality: nevertheless, she had so continued to augment her navy, that she had now forty-six ships of the line and twenty-two frigates almost fit for service. Notwithstanding the pacific declarations of the Spanish ministry, they were certainly determined, as soon as they were ready, if not to break with England, at least to try her patience to the utmost. The guarda-costas began again to insult our trade in the West Indies, and private orders were sent to prevent our cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras. But these insults being insufficient to provoke the British ministry, the haughty Spaniard resolved to seize the first opportunity of insulting us nearer home. A French privateer having taken an English vessel on the coast of France, brought her to an anchor under the guns of Algezire, a Spanish fort in the Bay of Gibraltar. Sir Edward Hawke, whose squadron was at this time

riding in the Bay, and Lord Tyrawley, governor of Gibraltar, immediately sent to demand the restitution of the prize, which the governor of Algezire positively refused. The English officer who carried this demand, being attended with a number of armed boats, with orders to cut the ship out, and to bring her off at all events, proceeded to execute his orders, and carried his point; but the castle gave him so warm a reception, that above a hundred of his men were either killed or wounded. The court of Spain approved of the governor's conduct, and pretended to be violently offended with that of Sir Edward Hawke. England bore this outrage with christian patience; and the impression it made was soon obliterated by a greater.

Human nature, collected into states and kingdoms, is influenced by the follies, passions, and vices, by which individuals are generally governed. The man who wants spirit to resent the first affront, must soon expect a second; so it is with nations. The Antigallican, an English private ship of war, of thirty carriage and sixteen swivel guns, commanded by Captain William Foster, cruising in the Bay of Biscay, fell in with Le Duc De Penthievre, a French East Indiaman, on the 26th of December, about seven leagues from Ferrol. The Indiaman, mounting fifty guns, being to windward, bore down upon the Antigallican, and fired a gun to bring her to. She then hoisted her colours. The Frenchman fired a broadside, and half another, with considerable effect, before the Antigallican returned the compliment. A close engagement ensued, and continued three hours, when the Indiaman struck, her captain and twelve men being killed, and her second captain and twenty-seven men wounded. They were, at this time, five leagues and a half distant from the light-house at Corunna. Captain Foster attempted to carry his prize into Lisbon; but, finding it impossible to make that port, he bore away for Cadiz, where, as soon as he came to an anchor, the officers of the Indiaman deposed upon

oath, that their ship was, in all respects, a legal prize. Nevertheless, incredible as it may seem, it was not long before orders were sent from Madrid, to the governor of Cadiz, to detain both the ships, under pretence that the Indiaman was taken so near a Spanish fort, as to be within the distance prescribed by the law of nations: a palpable falsehood! The Spaniards pretended to institute a legal inquiry; but their proceedings were a disgrace to all law and equity. Sir Benjamin Keene at Madrid, and Mr. Goldsworth, the English consul at Cadiz, in vain remonstrated. The court of Spain sent a positive order for the prize to be delivered to the French consul, and the governor of Cadiz, on Captain Foster's refusing to strike the English colours, sent a sixty-gun ship and a thirty-gun frigate to reduce the Penthievre to obedience by force. They continued firing upon her nearly two hours, without a single shot being returned. They shot away his ensign, killed the sailor who was sent to strike his pendant, and wounded seven of his men. When the Spanish commodore had thus amused himself as long as he thought fit, Captain Foster was told that he was not a prisoner, and suffered to go on shore, and was afterwards told by the governor, that he had no farther commands for him: nevertheless, he was next morning dragged to prison, and his crew, after being robbed and abused by the Spanish soldiers, were thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where they must inevitably have perished of hunger, but for the humanity of the British consul. These unhappy men were not released till the 5th of March.

It is as painful to the British historian as to the British reader, to contemplate the insolent cruelty and injustice of Spain, in this and the preceding example. In some periods of our history, not a nation under heaven would have dared thus to provoke the growling lion. If this had happened in the reign of Elizabeth, or during Cromwell's usurpation, Cadiz

would have been laid in ashes in less than a month. But the political system of the British ministry prompted them rather to submit to any insult, than risk a Spanish war. The people of England grew dissatisfied. Braddock's defeat, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America; the loss of Minorca, and the absurd disposition and employment of the navy, convinced them, that the ministry were unequal to the importance of their several offices. The nation became clamorous, and the king at last consented to a partial change in the administration. Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state for the southern department, and Mr. Legge nominated chancellor of the exchequer.

The people in general were extremely delighted with this change of men, in full confidence that a change of measures would follow; but too much of the old leaven still remained, to suffer the full exertion of heroic patriotism. These new ministers began to act upon principles so diametrically opposite to those of their colleagues in administration, that they were hardly seated in their places, before it was determined to remove them. They were represented to the king as two obstinate, wayward servants of the people, rather than of the crown, and totally ignorant of that political system by which Hanover could possibly be preserved. This artful appeal to his Majesty's natural affections, produced the desired effect. On the 5th of April Mr. Pitt, by the king's command, was dismissed the office of secretary of state; and Mr. Legge having also resigned, was succeeded by Lord Mansfield in the office of chancellor of the exchequer. This sudden dismission of the two popular ministers, surprised and alarmed the nation; and, instead of disgracing them with the people, added infinitely to their popularity. Many of the principal cities in England complimented them with their freedom in gold boxes, and the whole nation became at last so clamorous, that it was soon thought advisable to

solicit their re-acceptance of the places from which they had been so lately dismissed. Mr. Pitt resumed his office of secretary of state for the southern department on the 29th of June, and Mr. Legge that of chancellor of the exchequer a few days after. From this time Mr. Pitt became prime minister, though the principal persons who composed the late administration remained in office. The duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, Mr. Fox paymaster-general of the army, and Lord Anson first lord of the Admiralty.

The first expedition in which the navy bore a part, after Mr. Pitt's restoration, was that against Rochfort, on the coast of France. This minister conceived, that the most effectual means of stopping the progress of the French armies in Germany, was, by ravaging their coast, to call their attention to the security of their own dominions. Rochfort became the first object of his attention, in consequence of certain intelligence which he had received from a Captain Clerk, who informed him, that, returning from Gibraltar in the year 1744, he visited Rochfort, with a design to make himself acquainted with its strength, in case of a war with France, and that he found its fortifications in so ruinous a state, that the town might be easily taken by a *coup-de-main;* presuming that it remained in the same situation, because the fortifications had not been repaired during the two last wars with England. Captain Clerk's information was afterwards laid before the cabinet, and Tierry, a French pilot, was closely examined, concerning the practicability of landing and protecting the troops.

The ministry being now perfectly satisfied, as to the feasibility and importance of the enterprise, a formidable fleet was immediately ordered to Spithead, and ten regiments of foot encamped on the Isle of Wight. Sir John Mordaunt, knight of the bath, commanded the troops, and Sir Edward Hawke the

fleet of men of war ordered for this service. The destination of this formidable armament remained a profound secret for some time; it was, however, at last, generally understood to be intended against some part of the coast of France. Mr. Pitt, perfectly sensible of the necessity of proceeding with all possible expedition, repeatedly urged the departure of the fleet; but, either by some unaccountable fatality, or by the malignant influence of men who would damn their country to thwart the measures of an envied minister, the transports did not arrive at St. Helen's till the 4th of September. The troops were embarked with all possible expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the 8th. This entire armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, seven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ships, two busses, one horse-ship, and fifty-five transports, besides the Jason, a forty-gun ship, in the capacity of a transport, and the Chesterfield man of war, for the purpose of repeating signals. On board of this fleet were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, sixty light horse, and a formidable train of artillery. The admirals under Sir Edward Hawke were Knowles and Broderick, and under Sir John Mordaunt were the Generals Conway and Cornwallis.

This fleet sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, and bore away to the westward. The troops on board were totally ignorant of their destination till the 15th, when the orders issued by Sir John Mordaunt relative to the nature of the service on which they were sent, put the matter out of doubt. They stood into the Bay of Biscay, and on the 20th made the Isle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke sent immediate orders for Admiral Knowles to proceed with his division to Basque Road, and to attack the fort on the Isle of Aix; but the execution of this order, though positive, was suspended by a very extraordinary accident. Admiral Knowles, as soon as he received these orders, made sail with his division, and prepared his ships for

action; but he had scarcely taken leave of Sir Edward Hawke, before a French man of war was observed standing in towards the centre of the English fleet. When this singular phenomenon appeared, Admiral Knowles was so deeply engaged in the important occupation of exhibiting the entertaining spectacle of a clear ship between decks to General Conway, that he could not possibly attend to the first information brought by his lieutenant. However, in consequence of a second message, the admiral came upon deck, and, with his spy-glass, discovered this strange sail to be a two-decked ship. Admiral Knowles recollecting that he was sent on a different service, but not recollecting the comparative importance of that service, was in doubt whether he should make a signal for any of his division to chase: during this hesitation, the French ship discovered her mistake, tacked, and bore away with all the sail she could crowd. The admiral continued still to doubt, and doubted so long, that all possibility of coming up with her before night vanished. At last, however, Admiral Knowles ordered the Magnanime and the Torbay to give chase. They chased as long as they could see their object, and next morning rejoined the fleet.

On the 21st, Admiral Knowles, with the division under his command, made sail towards the land; but the weather proving hazy, the pilots refused to carry the fleet in. This evening the troops were in full expectation of landing; but about seven o'clock the ships tacked, and came to an anchor near the Isle of Rhèe. On the 22d, the fleet entered the bay called the Road of Basque, between the Islands of Rhèe and Oleron, and there remained at anchor during the night. About eight next morning, Admiral Knowles in the Neptune, with the Magnanime, the Bartleur, America, Alcide, Burford, and Royal William, made sail towards Aix, a small island in the mouth of the river leading up to Rochfort. Captain

Howe, in the Magnanime, led the van. At half past twelve, the fort upon the island began to fire upon him, and his people soon grew impatient to return the compliment. But he continued to advance with the utmost composure, without firing a single shot, continually urging his pilot to lay the ship as close to the fort as possible. The moment he came abreast of the battery, he let go his anchors, and fired a broadside, which drove most of the Frenchmen from their guns. From this time, the fire from the battery gradually ceased. It was, however, near an hour before she struck her colours. That this island should prove so easy a conquest, will not appear surprising, when the reader is informed, that the battery so furiously attacked by the Magnanime, consisted of no more than six iron cannon, mounted *en barbet;* so that the gunners were so entirely exposed, that Captain (afterwards Lord) Howe, might have taken the fort in his long-boat. There were indeed near thirty pieces of cannon upon the island; but the six above mentioned were all that were brought to bear upon the ships. The fortifications of Aix were planned by the great Vauban; but the execution of that plan had been so totally neglected, that the island was, at this time, entirely defenceless.

As soon as the French colours were struck, an English regiment landed and took possession of the important conquest. Aix is an island about five or six miles in circumference, entirely covered with vines, which yield a meagre wine, the common beverage of the country. The garrison consisted of about five hundred men, partly soldiers and partly sailors, most of which had been landed from the Continent on the day preceding the attack, and were now made prisoners of war. As to the behaviour of the English regiment which took possession of the fort, I will tell it in the language of a writer, who served as a volunteer on this expedition. "I wish," says the author, "I could with truth report, that our people behaved

with the moderation they ought to have done: and I am sorry, for the credit of our discipline, that the severe orders issued by the general were not as severely executed. Both our soldiers and sailors were suffered to get abominably drunk, and, in consequence of that, cruelly to insult the poor sufferers. This little island became, in a very few hours, a most shocking scene of devastation; even the church was suffered to be pillaged, the poor priest robbed of his little library, and his robes became a masquerading habit to the drunken tars." Such behaviour is not surprising in a class of men who act without reflection, and in whom reflection would be a misfortune to themselves and to their country; but that such conduct should have been suffered by their superiors, is wonderful indeed! That men flushed with wine and victory, are with difficulty restrained, I readily acknowledge; but the difficulty of preventing a crime, which admits of no palliation, is a very feeble apology.

The conquest of the isle of Aix, though of little importance, considered as an omen of success, gave vast spirits to the whole fleet, and inspired the troops with such ardour, that, if they had been immediately landed on the Continent, they would, probably, have succeeded in any possible attempt. Five days from this period were spent in sounding the depth of water, in prudential deliberations, and sage councils of war; so that eight days were now elapsed, since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast of France, during which time we may rationally suppose, that the enemy had made no inconsiderable progress in preparing for a vigorous defence. But before we proceed to the conclusion of this grand expedition, it is necessary to relate more particularly, the transactions of the five days from the taking of the Isle of Aix.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, immediately after the conquest of that fortress, Sir Edward Hawke sent Admiral Broderick, with Captains Dennis, Douglas, and Buckle, to reconnoitre and sound the coast, in

order to find a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to destroy the shipping, docks, and naval stores at Rochfort. These gentlemen, having spent the remainder of that day, and the following night, in the laborious execution of their commission, returned to the fleet about four in the evening of the 24th, and reported, that from Angolin to Chataillon there was a hard sandy beach; also a small bay farther to the eastward, at either of which places troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was sufficient depth of water, and clear ground for the transports to anchor at the distance of a mile and a half from the shore. They also reported, that on the south side of the bay there was a square fort, on the north-west side of which were nine embrazures, and two on the north-east. This fort had been previously reconnoitred by Colonel Wolfe, who was of opinion, that it might be easily silenced by a single ship, or, at least, so engaged, that the troops might land on each side of it with very little interruption. The pilot of the Magnanime made no doubt of carrying his ship near enough to batter the fort. From these several reports Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt seemed determined to proceed to the execution of Colonel Wolfe's plan. But this resolution was afterwards staggered by General Conway, who, after a tedious examination of several prisoners from the Isle of Aix, reported that, according to the information of these prisoners, the attempt against Rochfort would be attended with danger and difficulty. This suspicious information determined the two commanders to have recourse to that bane of our national glory, a council of war. If Wolfe had commanded these brave troops, would he, on this occasion, have called a council of war? The report of prisoners ought not to be entirely disregarded; but a wise general, or admiral, will listen to their information with the utmost suspicion. Be this as it may, if these prisoners produced the council of war, they ought to have been

amply rewarded by the king of France as the saviours of Rochfort.

The members of this memorable council were, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir John Mordaunt, Admiral Knowles, General Conway, Admiral Broderick, General Cornwallis, Captain Rodney, Colonel Howard. They met on the 25th, on board the Neptune, and, after mature deliberation, determined, unanimously, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither *advisable* nor *practicable*. That it was unadvisable, if impracticable, no body will presume to doubt. Nevertheless, Admiral Knowles was sent next morning with two bomb-ketches and other small vessels to bombard the fort, and to sound the entrance into the river Charante; who on his return reported, that one of the bombs ran a-ground, and that the Coventry touched five times in attempting to protect her from two French row-gallies. This report by Admiral Knowles can no otherwise be reconciled with that of the officers first employed in sounding, and with the evidence of the pilot of the Magnanime, than by supposing that the French pilots now employed, chose to sacrifice their reputation as pilots to the safety of their country. But notwithstanding this report, orders were issued that night for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to land next morning; yet that day passed in perfect inactivity. However, another council of war, consisting of the same members, being called, it was now unanimously resolved, that it was advisable to land the troops.

In consequence of this resolution, on the 28th in the afternoon, the Ramillies hoisted a signal for the commanders of regiments to come on board, and at eight the same evening orders were issued* for the

* *Viz.* "*Ramillies*, *Sept.* 28.

"The troops are to be ready to go from the transports into the boats at twelve o'clock at night; a number of men of war's boats will be appointed to every regiment, under the command of a lieutenant: these, with the transport boats, who are to be under the

troops to prepare for landing in the night. Twelve hundred men were accordingly crowded into boats,

direction of a lieutenant of foot, are to receive the grenadiers, the piquet companies, one, two, or more, as the boats can contain them; the commander of every regiment lands with the first detachment, if it amounts to three companies.

"Particular care to be taken that the soldiers be not too much crowded in the boats.

"The crews of the boats that row the transports long-boats, are to be chiefly composed of soldiers, who are to return to the corps after the first landing, and row backwards and forwards till the whole disembarkation is completed, and till the provisions, tents, baggage, &c. are landed, according to the orders of the 15th.

"When the first part of every regiment is embarked, it is to proceed silently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the division, and there the whole division receives their orders from a captain of a ship of war, which orders they are in every particular strictly to obey.

"The troops have had a great example before their eyes, and the general is confident that they will endeavour to imitate the coolness and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the Isle of Aix.

"No soldier is to fire from the boats upon any account, but to wait for the moment to join the enemy with their bayonets.

"Eight mantlets *per* regiment will be distributed, and the commanding officers will dispose of them, so as to cover the landing boats and rowers from the musquetry, in case it be necessary.

"The troops are to land silently, and in the best order the nature of the thing allows of.

"The companies to form, and be ready to attack whoever appears before them.

"The chief engineer, the quartermaster-general, and his deputies, are to go on shore with the first body that lands.

"All the intrenching tools are to be landed immediately after the second embarkation.

"Mr. Boyd, the comptroller of the artillery, is appointed to carry orders to the chief engineer, captain of the artillery, and to every branch of the ordnance, and is to be obeyed.

"Each regiment to send a return immediately of the number of tents they have remaining after the calculating a tent for eight men, as ordered on the 15th.

"Colonel Kingsly to be ready to march with the grenadiers upon their landing, with two field-officers, Major Farquhar, and Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Boothby.

"The regiments are each of them to receive from the storekeeper of the ordnance, ten chevaux-de-frize, and to send for them forthwith."

in full expectation of a signal at midnight to put off. Indeed such was the alacrity of the troops on this occasion, and such their eagerness to land, that the boats were filled an hour before the time. In this situation they remained, the boats beating against each other, for it blew rather fresh, till about three in the morning; when, instead of a signal to put off, a laconic order came for the troops to return to their respective transports. This order was obeyed, but not without a general murmur of dissatisfaction.

If the reader be unacquainted with the real history of this expedition, he will doubtless be at a loss, on any martial principle, to account for all these apparent dilatory, irresolute, incongruous, and even contradictory proceedings: in justice, therefore, to the commanders on each element, I will endeavour to develope the motives by which they were influenced in their various resolutions, and, if possible, to point out the several causes to which the miscarriage of this enterprise is to be attributed.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Great Britain, must recollect many instances of our naval expeditions having failed for want of alacrity in the preparation. It requires very little nautical knowledge or experience to conceive, that the success of naval enterprises depends almost entirely upon the proper season of the year. This diversion on the coast of France seems to have been first suggested by the king of Prussia and the duke of Cumberland, who were at this time overpowered by numerous French armies in Germany. Mr. Pitt adopted their idea, because he thought it rational; but he was principally influenced by the prospect of giving a mortal stab to the naval power of France, in the destruction of Rochfort. When he first determined to carry this project into execution, there appeared to be time sufficient. The troops, and the fleet of men of war, were assembled early in the month of August, and their not sailing till the 8th of September was

entirely owing to the misconduct of the contractors for the transports: so much is it in the power of little beings to frustrate the designs of the wisest of the human species!

That the fleet did not make the Isle of Oleron till the 20th, was chiefly owing to contrary winds; but, from the above narrative, it is evident that they might with great ease have anchored in Basque Road next morning; that the remainder of that day would have been sufficient for reconnoitring the coast, and that the troops might have been in possession of Rochfort on the evening of the 22d. The attack upon the Isle of Aix was a mere waste of time, nor would the taking of Fort Fouras have answered any better purpose; because neither of these forts were so situated as to prevent the landing of the troops, or impede their march to Rochfort, or render their retreat less secure. By the king's private instructions to Sir John Mordaunt, [see Appendix, No. II.] it appears, that the principal object of the expedition was, to destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping at Rochfort. This was to be effected by a *coup de main:* therefore every hour of unnecessary delay was a fault, as it not only gave the enemy time to recover from the consternation into which the appearance of such an armament must have thrown them, but also gave them time to collect their troops, and add strength to their fortifications.

We have seen above, from the report of Admiral Broderick, that the transports might safely ride at anchor within a mile and a half of a firm beach, where the troops might have landed without the least molestation from any fort or battery. Why were not the transports, immediately upon this report, ordered to that station, and the army landed upon the beach? If the transports had been thus situated, the entire disembarkation would have been effected in the space of a few hours, and the first division landed would have been supported by the second in less than an

hour. This seems to have been an obvious, easy, and rational method of proceeding, and probably would have been pursued, but for General Conway's interrogation of the French prisoners which were taken on the Isle of Aix. The report of these prisoners produced a council of war, and that council, on the information of these and other Frenchmen, were persuaded, that, if the troops should land on the continent, they would certainly all be drowned, for that, by opening certain sluices, the whole country might be laid under water. With these terrible apprehensions, the council unanimously determined, that any attempt upon Rochfort was neither advisable nor practicable. For this determination some reasons were assigned; but it may be somewhat difficult to find any reason for an apparent contrary determination at their next meeting, especially when we consider, that the report of Admiral Knowles, subsequent to the first council, tended rather to increase than diminish the horrible chimeras which guarded the coast of France. But it is necessary to observe, that this second resolution meant nothing more than an attack upon Fort Fouras, if it had any precise object farther than that of mere bravado; for, at this time, every idea of attempting Rochfort was entirely relinquished.

We have seen above, that, in consequence of the resolution of the council of war of the 28th, the troops were ordered to land the same night, and that, after remaining four hours in the boats, they were ordered to return to their ships. The only reason that can be assigned for this counter-order is, that, after the first order had been issued, and in part executed, the commanders discovered the absurdity of attempting to land a numerous army from ships which were at the distance of two leagues from the shore. It is also probable, that they now recollected, that, at this time, they had no motive, no object which could either distress the enemy or serve their country

in the smallest degree. We find, in the fourth article of the king's private instructions to Sir John Mordaunt, that Mr. Pitt's plan extended to other towns on the coast of France, particularly L'Orient and Bourdeaux; but we see in the following article of these instructions, that the end of September was fixed for the return of the fleet. Nevertheless, lest a scrupulous obedience to these orders might frustrate the intent of the expedition, Mr. Pitt, on the 15th of September, wrote to Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt, informing them, that his Majesty's commands were, to continue upon the coast of France as many more days as might be necessary to the completion of any operation in which they were engaged.

Having thus endeavoured to give the reader a clue which may enable him to pass through this labyrinth of delays and councils, to the several apparent causes of our disappointment, I will now presume to assign the real cause. The very able and patriotic minister who planned this admirable enterprise, notwithstanding his superior sagacity, was mistaken in the character of Sir John Mordaunt, of General Conway, and of General Cornwallis. In military knowledge and personal courage they were by no means deficient; but there was in them all a want of that constitutional spirit of enterprise, that impetuosity of resolution bordering, perhaps, upon imprudence, but without which an expedition of this nature will never succeed. If the minister himself, or any general of equal constitutional heroism, had commanded this army, Rochfort would have been destroyed in twenty-four hours after the fleet came to an anchor on the coast of France.

We now resume the thread of our narrative. Sir Edward Hawke, at length disgusted with the irresolute proceedings of the army, on the 29th of September, informed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propose, he intended to

proceed with the fleet to England. The land-officers approved his resolution, and on the 1st of October, the fleet sailed with a fair wind for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the 6th of the same month.

The people of England were exceedingly disappointed and dissatisfied at this inglorious return of such a fleet and such an army. But no man in the kingdom had so much reason to be displeased as the minister himself. He now plainly perceived that he had mistaken his generals, and, to satisfy the people, consented to an inquiry into their conduct. Accordingly, a board of inquiry was appointed, consisting of the duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave. These gentlemen, after much examination, deliberation, and reflection, presented to the king so vague, so unsatisfactory, so silly a report, that it was afterwards thought necessary to bring Sir John Mordaunt to a formal trial by a court-martial. But, before we proceed to speak of that court-martial, it is impossible to avoid taking some farther notice of this court of inquiry, the first article of whose report to the king was, that—"The not attacking Fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it would have been attacked by land, was one cause why the expedition failed."—That is, the expedition failed, because something was not done in conjunction with something which was never attempted. The second article of their report was, "That the council of war of the 28th was not justifiable in the resolution not to make an attack upon Rochfort, because they afterwards resolved to attack Fort Fouras." Their third article of report was, "That the expedition failed, because the fleet returned to England without any previous regular meeting of the council of war." If the three members of this board of inquiry had been well informed as to the situation of Rochfort, Aix, and Fouras, they would have discovered that the first ought to have been attacked without any attention

to either of the latter. Sir John Mordaunt was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. The minister and the admiral were also acquitted by the general voice of the people; so that this grand expedition miscarried without a cause.

Having, I hope, satisfied the reader concerning the employment of the British navy in Europe, let us now follow our fleets and armies to other parts of the world. In the East Indies we behold a scene extremely different from that which we have just quitted; unanimity, resolution, and the genuine spirit of enterprise in our commanders; intuitive military genius, and victory its natural attendant. Admiral Watson sailed from Bombay on the 30th of April, 1756. He arrived at St. David's on the 29th of May; sailed from thence on the 20th of June, and anchored in Madras Road the day following. Here he first learnt the dreadful fate of Calcutta Having taken Colonel Clive and his small army on board his squadron, he sailed on the 6th of October, determined to revenge the horrid murder of his countrymen. They anchored in Balasore Road on the 5th of December, reached Fulta on the 15th, and on the 28th proceeded to Calcutta, with the Kent, Tiger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King-fisher sloop. Next day Colonel Clive, with a small body of men, landed, in order to attack a fort called Busbudgia, which, being at the same time cannonaded by the ships, was soon abandoned by the garrison. Other forts and batteries were likewise deserted as the ships proceeded up the river, and, on the 2d of January, 1757, after a smart cannonade from the Kent and Tyger, the enemy were driven from their guns, and the town of Calcutta restored to the East India Company. No more than nine seamen and three soldiers were killed, and about thirty men wounded. Ninety-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores.

This important conquest being finished, the British

commanders resolved to attempt Hughly, a city of great trade, higher up the Ganges. The Bridgewater of twenty guns, and a sloop, with a detachment of troops under the command of Captain Kirkpatrick, were destined for this service. This armament proceeded up the river on the 5th of January, and reduced the place without much difficulty. Twenty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, besides a considerable quantity of saltpetre and magazines of grain, which were immediately destroyed by the conquerors. The nabob of Bengal, enraged at being thus rapidly driven from his most important possessions, assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and, on the 2d of February, encamped about a mile from Calcutta. Colonel Clive, though very inferior in number, resolved to attack the nabob in his camp, and requested the admiral to assist him with all the sailors he could spare. Six hundred seamen were landed, under the command of Captain Warwick, on the fifth, at one in the morning; at three Colonel Clive marched his little army, and about five the attack began. The nabob, after a feeble resistance, retreated, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken. This action, though not decisive, obliged the nabob to sign articles of capitulation, very advantageous to the East India Company.

Having thus humbled this insolent nabob, the conquerors turned their attention towards Chandenagore, a capital French settlement above Calcutta, on the same river. Colonel Clive, with seven hundred Europeans, and about sixteen hundred Indians, marched towards the place, and, after gaining possession of the principal outposts, waited for the arrival of the fleet. On the 18th of March, the Admirals Watson and Pocock, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, came to an anchor two miles below Chandenagore. They found their pas-

sage obstructed by booms and chains across the river. These obstacles being removed, on the 24th in the morning they began to batter the fort, whilst Colonel Clive continued his approaches by land, and after three hours cannonading the enemy hoisted a flag of truce, and surrendered by capitulation. The garrison consisted of five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, well provided with ammunition and subsistence, and a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts. This important conquest cost the victors no more than forty men. Colonel Clive's subsequent achievements are foreign to the purpose of this history. It is sufficient to say, that he totally defeated the nabob Sulajud Dowla at the head of twenty thousand men, caused him to be solemnly deposed, and his prime minister Ali Khan to be proclaimed viceroy in his stead.

We now take our leave of the East, in order to inquire how our fleets in the West Indies and in North America were employed. We are to remember that Mr. Pitt's first administration, which commenced with the year 1757, was of short duration. It continued, however, long enough to convince the nation of his spirit and political sagacity. Astonished at the negligence of his predecessors in administration, he immediately conceived, and in part executed, a plan of operation wisely calculated to revive the faded laurels of Britain. He sent a squadron of men of war under the command of Commodore Stevens to the East Indies, another to Jamaica under Admiral Cotes, and a third was ordered to be equipped for North America, the command of which was to be given to Sir Edward Hawke. This third squadron was destined, with a body of troops under Lord Loudoun, then in America, for the reduction of Louisbourg; but the design was scarcely revealed to the privy-council, before it was known in the French cabinet, and the preparations at Portsmouth so ha-

grantly retarded, that the enemy had sufficient time to render the expedition abortive. One French fleet of nine ships sailed from Brest in January, a second, of five men of war, sailed from Toulon in April, and a third, of fourteen sail, left France on the third of May. The last of these squadrons arrived at Louisbourg in June. The English fleet, intended for Sir Edward Hawke, was given to Admiral Holbourne, who sailed from Cork a week after the departure of the last French squadron from Brest, and arrived at Halifax in North America on the 9th of July. Admiral Holbourne being joined by Lord Loudoun with the troops from New York, councils of war were frequently held, and, according to the general issue of such councils, it was resolved to postpone the attack upon Louisbourg to a more favourable opportunity. Thus ended the naval expedition of Admiral Holbourne. The troops under the command of Lord Loudoun were 12,000 effective men, and the fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, &c.

We have seen above, that early in this year a squadron sailed to the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Cotes. Soon after his arrival on the Jamaica station, he detached Captain Forest with three frigates to cruise off Cape François, in order to intercept the trade from the French islands. Captain Forest had scarcely made his appearance on that coast, before he fell in with four French men of war, commanded by Monsieur Kersaint. An engagement immediately ensued, which was sustained with mutual courage and obstinate resolution for two hours and a half; after which, the enemy retreated to Cape François, and the English frigates to Jamaica. Thus ends our naval history of the year 1757: a history equally unsatisfactory to the writer and to the reader; a year distinguished solely by our conquests in the East Indies, which are to be attributed entirely to the genius and intrepidity of one man. Our fleets and

armies in Europe and in America were either totally inactive, or failed in their attempts. Notwithstanding the superiority of our fleet, the number of prizes taken by the French exceeded the English list of captures by more than two hundred. Let us now hasten to the year 1758, where we may expect to find the patriotic zeal, political abilities, and heroic spirit of enterprise, so conspicuous in the character of the new minister, in full exertion of their influence. This intrepid minister was so extremely disgusted at the behaviour of some of our commanders, that, in one of his speeches in the House of Commons, he did not scruple to declare, that, though the king would readily embrace any rational measure for the honour of his crown, he doubted whether a man could be found, who might safely be trusted with the execution of any enterprise of danger or difficulty.

The parliament voted, for the service of the year 1758, sixty thousand seamen, fifteen thousand marines included; and for the land-service, near fifty-four thousand men. Our fleet, at this period, consisted of three hundred and twenty ships of war, one hundred and fifty-six of which were of the line. Besides these, there were on the stocks, four ships of seventy-four, two of seventy, four of sixty-four, six of thirty-six, and ten of twenty-eight guns. The supplies were raised with the utmost facility, and at a moderate interest. The languid, latent spirit of the nation, inflamed by that of the new minister, was suddenly roused from the disgraceful apathy which, except in the East Indies, characterized the operations of the preceding year. The navy of France, at this time, consisted of seventy-seven ships of the line, and thirty-nine frigates; that of Spain of fifty-two line-of-battle ships, twenty-six frigates from thirty to sixteen guns, thirteen xebeques of twenty-four, and four packet-boats of sixteen guns.

The reduction of Louisbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a

naval armament, adequate to the purpose, was prepared with all possible expedition, and the command given to Admiral Boscawen, an officer of approved abilities. The formidable French fleet which had protected Louisbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a shattered condition. These ships being repaired, were intended to return to their former station in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented, by the vigilant alacrity of the British minister. Admiral Boscawen sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th of February, with forty-one men of war. Meanwhile, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke blocked up the French ports in the Bay of Biscay, and another squadron, commanded by Admiral Osborne, was sent to cruise between Cape de Gatte and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain. There were, at this time, three small squadrons of French ships of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagena, and Brest; which squadrons, under the command of Monsieur Du Quesne and Monsieur De la Clue, had orders to steal away for Louisbourg, jointly or separately. The former of these commanders, in order to join the latter at Carthagena, sailed from Toulon on the 25th April, on board the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, attended by the Orphèe of sixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and Pleiade of twenty-four guns. Admiral Osborne, expecting the departure of this squadron from Toulon, had stationed the Gibraltar frigate in the offing of that harbour, to watch their motions. As soon as Du Quesne's squadron appeared, the Gibraltar sheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy so effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, Du Quesne found himself in the midst of Osborne's fleet. In this critical situation, the French admiral made a signal for his squadron to disperse: each ship immediately steered a different course, and were as immediately pursued by detachments from Osborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to

block up the harbour of Carthagena. The Pleiade, being a prime sailer, escaped. The Oriflamme was chased by the Monarque and Montague, and escaped destruction by running under the guns of a small Spanish fort. The Orphèe was pursued by the Revenge and Berwick, and was taken by the first of these ships, in sight of Carthagena. The Foudroyant was chased by the Monmouth, Swiftsure, and Hampton Court. About seven in the morning, the Monmouth and Foudroyant began to fire at each other, the rest of the fleet being then totally out of sight. The disproportion between the two ships was very great. The Foudroyant had a thousand men on board, and mounted eighty guns, forty-two and twenty-two-pounders; the Monmouth mounted only sixty-four twelve and twenty-four-pounders, and her complement of men was no more than four hundred and seventy. This remarkable disparity notwithstanding, Captain Gardiner, who commanded the Monmouth, resolved, at all events, to vanquish his enemy. Thus determined, he brought his ship within pistol-shot of his antagonist, and now the battle raged with infernal fury. About nine o'clock, Captain Gardiner was shot through the head by a musket-ball.* He lingered till the day following, and then died, universally regretted and lamented, particularly by the officers and crew of his own ship. The death of such a man was a very great loss to his country. Soon after the captain fell, the Monmouth's mizen-mast came by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the Monmouth returned the compliment a few minutes after, on the mizen-mast of the Foudroyant being also shot away. This

* It is said that Captain Gardiner, before he expired, sent for his first lieutenant, and made it his last request, that he would not give up the ship. The lieutenant assured him he never would, and instantly went and nailed the flag to the staff. He then took a pistol in each hand, and swore if any man in the ship should attempt to strike the colours, he would put him to death.

disaster was soon followed by the fall of her main-mast, which giving fresh spirits to the English, their fire became so incessant and intolerable, that the French sailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the mighty Foudroyant struck a little after one o'clock. This action, which is one of the most glorious in the naval history of Britain, and which must ever remain an incontestable proof of our naval superiority, I beg leave to recommend to the constant recollection of such of our sea-officers as may be inclined to calculate their comparative weight of metal before they venture to engage.

The Orphèe and Foudroyant being taken, and the commander-in-chief being a prisoner, Monsieur De la Clue gave up all thoughts of passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned from Carthagena to Toulon, where his squadron was laid up. But the French ministry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louisbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a considerable fleet of transports and store-ships at Rochfort, Bourdeaux, and other ports in that neighbourhood. These transports, with three thousand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to sail under convoy of six ships of the line and several frigates. Such, however, was the intelligence and alacrity of the English minister, that effectual measures were taken to frustrate the design. Sir Edward Hawke, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, sailed down the Bay of Biscay, and on the 3d of April brought up in Basque Road, where he discovered five French ships of the line and seven frigates at anchor off the Isle of Aix. They no sooner saw the English fleet, than they began, with the utmost precipitation, to slip their cables, and fly in great confusion. Some of them escaped to sea; but far the greater number threw their guns and stores overboard, and, running into shoal water, stuck in the mud. Next morning, several of their men of war and

transports were seen lying on their broadsides; but being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly satisfied with having frustrated their intention of sailing to America.

I have before observed, that some of the store-ships and transports destined for North America, were to sail from Bourdeaux. These transports were twelve in number. They sailed under convoy of the Galathèe, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the Bay of Biscay they had the misfortune to fall in with the Essex, of sixty-four guns, and the Pluto and Proserpine fire-ships, which were on their passage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a short, but smart conflict, the French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the transports, were taken. But this advantage was dearly purchased with the death of Captain James Hume, who commanded the Pluto. Two more of these transports were afterwards taken by the Antelope and Speedwell sloops.

Having seen every attempt of France for the protection of Louisbourg entirely frustrated, we now proceed to projects more directly offensive, planned and executed by Mr. Pitt. But a melancholy event intervenes. On the 13th of April, the Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by Rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean, took fire between one and two in the afternoon, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of human skill and labour, aided by despair, burnt with such rapidity, that in the space of a few hours she burnt down to the water edge. A little before six in the evening, she sunk entirely, and more than two-thirds of her crew perished in the ocean. The admiral, after buffeting the waves nearly an hour, was at length taken up by a boat belonging to one of the merchantmen under his convoy. Captain Payton and the chaplain were also among the few that were saved.

We now proceed to the circumstantial relation of an expedition to the coast of Africa; an expedition which, extraordinary as it may seem, was planned and executed by a Quaker. Thomas Cuming, the projector of this enterprise, having made a voyage, as a merchant-adventurer, to Portenderrick, on the coast of Africa, became personally acquainted with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli. This prince, being prejudiced in favour of the English nation, and extremely dissatisfied with the French, wished eagerly for an opportunity to drive them from their settlements on the river Senegal, and promised all the assistance in his power to the arms of Britain. Mr. Cuming, during his residence on the Gum-coast, became perfectly acquainted with the nature, extent, and importance of the trade; and was very assiduous in his inquiry concerning the situation and strength of the French forts. On his return to England, he communicated his observations and ideas to the Board of Trade, by whom his project was approved, and finally adopted by the ministry. This was in the year 1757. A force which was deemed adequate to the expedition, was ordered to be prepared; but before the ships were ready to sail, the season was so far advanced, that it was thought advisable to postpone the design. In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Cuming revived his application; the minister approved his plan, and a small squadron was equipped with all possible expedition. The ships ordered for this service were the Nassau of sixty-four, the Harwich of fifty, and the Rye of twenty guns, attended by the Swan sloop and two busses. They had on board two hundred marines, commanded by Major Mason, and a detachment of matrosses, under Captain Walker; ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars.

This small squadron, commanded by Captain Marsh, and conducted by friend Cuming, sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March, and on the 24th of April came to an anchor in the mouth of the river

Senegal, and in sight of Fort Louis, which is situated on the island of Senegal, about four leagues within the bar. The French governor of this fort, as soon as he discovered the English squadron, sent down an armed brig and six sloops to dispute the passage of the bar. A brisk but ineffectual cannonading ensued. Meanwhile the channel being discovered, and the wind blowing up the river, Captain Millar of the London buss passed the bar and came to an anchor, where he remained all night exposed to the fire of the enemy. He was followed next morning by the other small vessels, some of which ran a-ground and bulged. The troops on board these vessels immediately took to their boats, and landed on the east shore of the river. Apprehensive of being attacked by the natives, they threw up an entrenchment and disembarked their stores. Next morning they were reinforced by a detachment of three hundred and fifty seamen, and now began to meditate an attack upon Fort Louis. But the governor, not chusing to wait the event, sent two deputies with offers of surrender. His proposals, after a little deliberation, were accepted by Captain Marsh and Major Mason. By the articles of capitulation, the natives of France were to be sent home with all their private effects. On the first of May the English took possession of Fort Louis, and all the settlements belonging to France on the river Senegal were at the same time ceded to the king of Great Britain. Thus this important conquest, which was planned and conducted by a quaker, was achieved in a manner perfectly consonant with the principles of his religion, namely, without spilling a single drop of human blood. It is also worthy of remark, that it was our first successful expedition since the commencement of the war. There were found in the fort ninety-two pieces of cannon, some treasure, and a considerable quantity of goods. This business being accomplished, and Fort Louis garrisoned by English troops, the men of war proceeded to attack the island

of Goree, about thirty leagues distant from Senegal; but their force being insufficient, the attempt miscarried.

On the 29th day of May, the Dorsetshire, Captain Dennis, of seventy guns, cruising in the Bay of Biscay, fell in with the Raisonable, a French man of war of sixty-four guns, and six hundred and thirty men, commanded by Le Prince de Mombazon, who defended his ship with great resolution till one hundred and sixty of his men were killed or wounded, and his hull and rigging considerably damaged.

Mr. Pitt's comprehensive plan of operation was too rational to be disconcerted by such miscarriages as were justly to be attributed to a want of spirit in the execution. The expedition to the coast of France, of the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the minister's opinion, that a diversion of the like nature was a proper measure. For this purpose, in the month of May, near fourteen thousand men were encamped on the Isle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillerymen, and five hundred and forty light horse. One of the regiments of infantry, being destined for another service, did not embark; so that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thousand. The subordinate general officers were Lord George Sackville, the earl of Ancram, Major-generals Waldegrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen and Elliot. Two distinct fleets were assembled at Spithead: the first commanded by Lord Anson, of twenty-two sail of the line; the second under Commodore Howe, consisting of several frigates, sloops, fireships, bomb-vessels, tenders, cutters, and transports.

This tremendous fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of June. Lord Anson with the line-of-battle ships stood away to the west, and proceeded to block up the French fleet at Brest; while Commodore Howe steered athwart the channel with the wind at

south-east. The night proved so tempestuous, notwithstanding the season of the year, that one of the store-ships rolled away her masts. About eight next morning they made Cape la Hogue, and that night anchored in the Race of Alderney. On the third, about noon, one of the transports struck upon a rock, near the island of Sark, and was lost, but the troops on board were saved. On the fourth, Mr. Howe came to an anchor within three leagues of St. Malo. Next morning he weighed before break of day, and stood into the Bay of Cancalle, so called from a village of that name, where the troops were intended to land. At four in the evening the whole fleet brought up, and in a short time after ten companies of grenadiers landed near the village above-mentioned. The only opposition was from a battery of two guns fired by a brave old Frenchman and his son, who maintained their post till the poor old man was wounded by a shot from one of our frigates. If others of his countrymen had behaved with equal resolution, the disembarkation would have been more difficult; for there were at this time seven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons at Cancalle: but these troops retired to St. Malo. The British grenadiers landed a little before sun-set, attended by five volunteers of distinction, whose names should be recorded and remembered with gratitude. Such spirit in young men of rank and fortune raises the military character of a nation more effectually than a victory over the enemy. Lord Down, Sir John Armitage, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Francis Blake Delaval, and Mr. Berkley, were the men. The entire disembarkation was compleated on the sixth, and the whole army encamped near Cancalle; the grenadiers and the light horse being advanced about a mile in the front of the line.

The duke of Marlborough, sensible of the ravages which are generally committed by the common soldiers on their landing in an enemy's country, issued strict orders to prevent marauding. Nevertheless,

some irregularities were committed. The offenders were brought to immediate trial, and two or three of them executed. This rigorous exertion of military law saved the inoffensive peasantry from many acts of brutal licentiousness which they would otherwise have experienced.

On the 7th, at break of day, the army marched towards St. Malo in two columns. The left column, commanded by Lord George Sackville, fell into the great road; but the lanes through which Lord Ancram's column marched were so narrow, and the country so inclosed and woody, that notwithstanding the previous labour of two hundred pioneers, the men were frequently obliged to pass in single files; so that a small number of the enemy might easily have destroyed this column, or at least have made it impossible for them to advance. But, so far from meeting with any opposition, they found the villages and hamlets through which they passed entirely deserted. The army proceeded in good order without beat of drum, and, after a march of six miles, encamped at the distance of little more than a mile from the town of St. Malo. Whilst they were employed in pitching their tents, the light horse, with the piquets of the whole army, marched towards the town, and were saluted by a few shot from the cannon on the ramparts. As soon as it was dark the piquets marched down to the harbour, where they found a considerable number of privateers and other small vessels, most of which, it being low water, were laid dry. Having set fire to all the shipping, they proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which were entirely destroyed, except one small store-house, which, if it had been set on fire, must from its situation have destroyed most of the houses in the suburbs. This building was spared from a noble principle of humanity, worthy the imitation of all future invaders. The number of ships destroyed was about one hundred and twenty. The piquets

now rejoined the army, which continued unmolested in its encampment till the 10th, when the tents were struck, and the army in one column marched back to Cancalle. While the main body of the troops were employed as I have related, a battalion of the guards, under the command of Colonel Cesar, marched twelve miles up the country, to a town called Dolle, where they were politely entertained by the magistrates. As their design was merely to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the least act of hostility, and then returned. A party of the English light horse penetrating a few miles farther, fell in with the *videts* of a French camp, two of whom they took, and brought prisoners to Cancalle.

The purpose of this invasion being fully accomplished, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed on the 16th early in the morning, and, after beating against the wind during that whole day, came to an anchor off the harbour of St. Malo. The night proved so tempestuous, that many of the ships drove, and some parted their cables. Next morning, the wind continuing contrary, the fleet returned to Cancalle bay, and there remained till the 22d, when they sailed again, and next day passed the islands Jersey and Guernsey. On the 25th they made the Isle of Wight, and on the 26th, the wind veering to the northward, they steered again for the coast of France, and ran in with the land near Havre; but towards evening it blew so fresh, that, to avoid the danger of a lee-shore, they stood out to sea. On the 27th, the weather becoming more moderate, they ran in with the land a second time, and the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Howe went out in a cutter to reconnoitre the coast. At their return, orders were given for the troops to prepare for immediate disembarkation: nevertheless, the 28th passed without any attempt to land, and on the 29th the fleet bore away before the wind, and anchored within a league of Cherburg. Some of the transports which brought

up nearer in shore were fired at from several batteries, but received no damage. A few troops were seen parading on the strand, most of which appeared to be militia.

Soon after the fleet came to an anchor, the duke of Marlborough signified his intention of making an attack upon the town that night, and ordered the first battalion of guards to be in their boats at eleven o'clock. The rest of the troops received orders in what manner, and at what time, they were to proceed, and every necessary preparation was made for immediate disembarkation. But as night approached the wind off shore gradually increased, and, before the appointed hour, became so violent as to render the attempt impracticable. Next morning, the duke of Marlborough, upon inquiry into the stock of provisions, hay, and water, found these several articles so nearly exhausted, that it would be dangerous, in so variable a climate, to remain any longer on an hostile coast. He therefore resolved to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and arrived at St. Helen's the next day in the evening. The troops were encamped on the Isle of Wight, that they might recover the effects of so long a confinement on board of transports by no means sufficient for the accommodation of so numerous an army. These troops were destined for more expeditions of the like nature, the success of which will be seen in due time; but a regular attention to a chronological series of naval events now calls us to North America.

I am to remind the reader, that Admiral Boscawen sailed from England, with a considerable fleet, on the 19th of April. He arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia on the 9th of May; from whence he sailed on the 28th, with an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of Major-general Amherst. This fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty-seven sail, anchored, on the 2d of June, in the Bay of Gabarus, about two

leagues westward of Louisbourg. The French governor, Le Chevalier Drucour, had taken every possible precaution to prevent a surprise. He had thrown up several entrenchments, erected batteries, and formed a chain of redoubts for two leagues and a half along the coast. There were in the harbour six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were, during the siege, sunk at the entrance. The fortifications of the town were not in good repair; the garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, besides six hundred burghers and Canadians. When the fleet first came to an anchor, and during several succeeding days, the surf ran so high, that it was impossible for the boats to come near the shore. These several obstacles appeared so tremendous to many of the officers, that they advised the admiral to call a general council of war. Fortunately for the service, and for his own reputation, he disregarded such advice, and determined to land the troops at all events.

On the 8th of June, the weather being more moderate, the grenadiers and light infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed sloops began to scour the coast, by an incessant fire upon the enemy; and now the boats rowed briskly towards the shore in three divisions, commanded by the Generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the surf ran so high that many of the boats were staved, and some of the soldiers drowned. General Wolfe leapt into the sea, and, being followed by his whole division, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the nearest battery. The other two divisions followed his example, and the enemy soon fled in confusion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and stores were landed with all possible speed, and the town was regularly invested. General Amherst having secured his camp by proper redoubts and epaulments, now

began his approaches in form. In landing the troops, three officers, four serjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight private men, were killed or drowned; five lieutenants, two serjeants, one corporal, fifty-one men wounded; and about seventy boats lost. The enemy, when they fled from their entrenchments, left behind them seventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large swivels, two mortars, a furnace for red-hot balls, small arms, ammunition, stores, tools and provisions in considerable quantity.

The Chevalier Drucour, having received his detachments into the town, destroyed his out-posts, and all buildings within two miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the British general were at first slow, owing to the difficulty of landing his stores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marshy country, and the necessity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile, General Amherst, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ships in the harbour, and also from the island battery, detached General Wolfe, with a considerable body of troops, with orders to march round the north-east harbour and take possession of the light-house point. This order was executed with great alacrity and dispatch, and a powerful battery erected, which on the 25th silenced that of the enemy on the island. On the 29th the besieged sunk four ships at the entrance of the harbour. They made several sallies from the town, and were repulsed with loss. The British army continued to approach the town in a regular and scientific manner, and the enemy displayed no less resolution and skill in the science of defence. On the 13th of July the besiegers were about six hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21st, a shell from our battery on the light-house point set fire to one of the enemy's ships in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men of war having caught the flame were also destroyed. These were the Entreprenant, the Capri-

cieux, and the Celebre: so that the Prudent and the Bienfaisant were the only ships of force remaining. In the night of the 25th the first of these two was set on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of seamen under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit merits a circumstantial relation. The naval reader will peruse it with pleasure; probably with advantage—By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ship in the fleet assembled, about noon, under the stern of the Namur. These boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with pistols, and cutlasses, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midshipman. From thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's squadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there re-assembled in two divisions, under the two captains above-mentioned, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the seamen were profoundly silent. They passed very near the island-battery undiscovered; the darkness of the night, and a thick fog, prevented their being seen, whilst the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and musquetry, both of the besieged and besiegers, effectually covered the noise of their oars. As soon as each division came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men of war were immediately surrounded by the boats, and were first alarmed by the firing of their own centinels. All the boats fell a-board at the same instant, and the several crews, following the example of their officers, scrambled up every part of the ships, and, in a few minutes, took possession of their respective prizes. The resistance was very feeble, and consequently the loss of men on either side inconsiderable.

Day-light and the shouts of our sailors, having at length discovered to the enemy on shore, that their ships were in possession of the English, they imme-

diately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious discharge of cannon ensued. Those who were in possession of the Prudent, finding her a-ground, set her on fire, and then joined the boats, which were now employed in towing off the Bienfaisant, which, with the assistance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and secured.

On the 26th, whilst Admiral Boscawen was preparing to send six ships into the harbour, he received a letter from the Chevalier Drucour, offering to capitulate on the same terms that were granted to the English at Minorca. The admiral insisted on the garrison remaining prisoners of war, and with these terms the governor finally complied. He could not do otherwise. He yielded to irresistible necessity. His ships were all destroyed or taken; his cannon were dismounted; his garrison diminished, and the remainder harassed and dispirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vanished, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. The capitulation being signed, the British troops took possession of Louisbourg on the 27th, and the two islands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to his Britannic Majesty. The ships of war lost by the French on this occasion were, the Prudent of 74 guns, Entreprenant 74, Capricieux 64, Celebre 64, Bienfaisant 64, Apollo 50; Chevre, Biche, and Fidelle frigates sunk at the harbour's mouth; Diana of 36, taken by the Boreas, Echo of 26 taken by the Juno.

We now return to Europe. The spirited minister, who, at this time, held the reigns of government; whose successive expeditions were distinct gradations in a regular plan of operation; whose invasions on the coast of France were principally intended to divide the forces of the enemy: this active minister, I say, determined once more to invade the coast of Normandy. Part of the troops which, since the last expedition, had been encamped on the Isle of Wight,

were sent to Germany. The duke of Marlborough, and Lord George Sackville were likewise ordered upon that service. The remainder of the troops now commanded by Lieutenant-general Bligh, embarked on board the fleet under Commodore Howe, and sailed from St. Helen's on the first day of August. On the 6th, in the evening, the fleet came to an anchor in the Bay of Cherburg, and a few shells were thrown into the town that night. Next morning, about seven o'clock, the fleet got under way, and at nine, brought up in the Bay of Maris, two leagues west of the town, where the general resolved to land his troops. The governor of Cherburg, since his late alarm, had thrown up several entrenchments, and planted some batteries along the coast. Behind these works, there appeared about two thousand regular troops, On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by General Drury, in flat-bottomed boats, landed, without opposition, under cover of an incessant fire from the fleet. Having formed his troops on the beach, he marched immediately towards a party of the enemy, received their fire, and then attacked them with such resolution, that they soon fled in the utmost confusion, and with considerable loss. They left behind them, two pieces of brass cannon. Of the English, about twenty were killed or wounded.

The remainder of the infantry being disembarked, General Bligh marched to the village of Erville, and there pitched his tents for the night. The ground which he had chosen for his encampment was so inadequate, in point of extent, to the number of troops, that the tents were crowded together as close as they could stand, without order or regularity. If the French commander had not been as ignorant in his profession as his enemy, the British army would, in this situation, have been surrounded and destroyed, or taken: two or three thousand men judiciously commanded, were sufficient. But either for want

of skill, or strength, or resolution, the English army was suffered to sleep in perfect security, and the succeeding dawn did not discover a single French soldier in sight of the camp. On reconnoitring the nearest fort, called Quirqueville, it was found desolate; so that the light horse were now disembarked without the least interruption, and the army proceeded, in two columns, towards Cherburg, which they entered without firing or receiving a single shot, the town and all the forts being entirely abandoned by the troops. The inhabitants, in confidence of a promise of protection, contained in a manifesto published by General Bligh, remained in the town, and received their hostile visitors with politeness and hospitality. I am sorry to record, to the disgrace of English discipline, that their confidence was abused. The proper means of restraining the licentious brutality of the common soldiers were neglected, till the just complaints of the sufferers reminded the general of his duty.

General Bligh now proceeded, according to his instructions, to demolish the harbour and basin, which had been constructed by Louis XV. at a vast expence, and were intended as an asylum for men of war. It appeared, however, from the unfinished state of the fortifications, that the importance of Cherburg had of late dwindled in the estimation of the French ministry. Whilst the engineers were thus employed, the light horse were sent to scour the country, and to reconnoitre a French camp at Walloign, about twelve miles from Cherburg. In these excursions, they frequently skirmished with the enemy, and in one of these rencounters, Lindsay, a captain of the British light horse, was unfortunately killed. He was a very active and gallant officer. The great business of demolition being finished, on the 16th of August, at three in the morning, the army evacuated Cherburg, marched down to Fort Galet, and there embarked without molestation.

In our estimate of the utility of this enterprise, we

are to remember, that the primary object was, by keeping the French coast in perpetual alarm, to oblige them to retain an army for their own security, which would otherwise have marched to Germany. Exclusive of this consideration, the expedition to Cherburg was, by no means, unimportant. Twenty-seven ships were burnt in the harbour. A hundred and seventy-three pieces of iron ordnance, and three mortars, were rendered useless; and twenty-two brass cannon and two mortars were sent to England. These cannon were afterwards exposed, for some time, in Hyde Park, and then drawn through the city in pompous procession, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, the oldest of whom had never beheld a similar triumph.

Thus far, the operations of this terrific itinerant army were successful. But the general's commission did not end with the destruction of the forts and harbour of Cherburg. By his secret instructions, he was ordered to keep the coast of France in continual alarm; to make descents, and attack any place that might be found practicable, between the east point of Normandy and Morlaix. In compliance with these instructions, the fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of August, and steered towards St. Malo, with a design to make a second attack upon that nest of privateers. But they were obliged, by contrary winds, to run for the English coast. They came to an anchor in Weymouth road on the 23d; they sailed from thence on the 25th, but were obliged to put back the same evening. The next attempt proved more successful. The fleet, though not without difficulty, kept the sea, and, standing to the southward, soon made the coast of France; but it was the 4th of September before they came to an anchor in the Bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues west of St. Malo. Whilst the fleet was bringing up, the commodore, with Prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, who attended Mr. Howe in the capacity of midshipman,

went off in their barge to reconnoitre the shore. Seeing no appearance of an enemy, the troops were disembarked without opposition; but not entirely without misfortune. One of the flat-bottomed boats being run down by the Brilliant, was overset, and five soldiers drowned. As soon as the troops were landed, Sir William Boothby, with 300 grenadiers, was detached with orders to destroy a hundred and fifty vessels in the harbour of Briac, near St. Malo. He executed his commission effectually; but the number of vessels in that harbour did not exceed fifteen.

The British army continued in their encampment near St. Lunaire four days, which were spent in deliberations concerning the practicability of an attack upon St. Malo. It was finally determined to be impracticable, and Mr. Howe having declared that it was impossible to re-embark the troops from the place where they had landed, it was resolved that the troops should march over land, and that the fleet should, in the mean time, proceed to the bay of St. Cas, and there remain ready to receive them. The commodore weighed anchor, and stood to the westward. On Friday, the 8th, in the morning, General Bligh struck his tents, and began his march towards the village of Gildau, where he was told, the river which he must necessarily pass, was fordable at low water. The day's march, though short, proved fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heavy rain and bad roads; and, as the army marched in a single column, it was night before the rear came to their ground. When Colonel Clark, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, arrived at the village of Gildau, he saw a body of about three hundred peasants on the opposite bank of the river, apparently formed with an intention to oppose his passage. A few shot from two or three field-pieces immediately dispersed them. Orders were issued to prepare for passing the river at six o'clock next morning, and the army went to rest. Next morning, at six o'clock, the troops were ready

to plunge into the river, when it appeared, that the general had been so totally misinformed, as to the time of fording, that it was now high instead of low water, and that it would be three in the afternoon before the troops could pass. Such a mistake, though apparently of no great importance, as it discovered the fallibility of the general's intelligence, was a bad omen.

The army forded the river in two columns, without any other molestation than a volley or two of musket shot from the opposite village, by which Lord Frederick Cavendish, and a few grenadiers were slightly wounded. They passed the river and pitched their tents immediately. Why they marched no farther that night is difficult to imagine. On Sunday morning the army again decamped, and marched towards Mattingnon. When the advanced guard approached the town, they saw a party of French dragoons, and observed that the hedges were lined by foot which seemed to be regulars. This being reported to the general, all the grenadiers were ordered to advance, and they pressed forward with great eagerness; but the enemy did not think fit to wait for them. Having marched about four miles, the army encamped to the southward of Mattingnon, after parading through the town by beat of drum. From this circumstance, it is evident that General Bligh had not the least idea that a superior army was, at this time, within a few hours march of his camp.

This evening, a French soldier was brought into the camp, who informed the general, that nine battalions of foot, two squadrons of dragoons, with five thousand Guardes de Costas, were on their march from Brest, and that they were not above two leagues distant. He named the general officers, and the regiments. His intelligence, however, produced no other effect than an order to the piquets of the English army to be particularly vigilant. During the night, the advanced guard of the enemy came so near, as to ex-

change some shot with the out-posts. Nevertheless, General Bligh continued so totally unapprehensive, that he ordered the usual drums, preparatory to a march, to beat next morning, at three o'clock. The drums beat accordingly, and the army marched, in a single column, towards St. Cas, which is about a league from Mattingnon. If the troops had marched in two columns, they would have reached their ships in half the time. When the head of the column reached the eminence, about half a mile from the sea, they had orders to halt, and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in succession ; but, before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngest brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. Meanwhile, the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, were approaching the land. Before the grenadiers quitted the height, they saw the enemy advancing in four columns. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there rested on their arms, while the battalions were conveyed to their transports in the flat bottomed boats.

The rear of the English army had scarcely quitted the height, before it was possessed by the enemy. As soon as they began to descend, Mr. Howe made a signal for his frigates to fire ; which order was executed with so much skill and dexterity, that many of the French were killed, and their whole army thrown into confusion. The British troops were now all embarked, except the grenadiers, and four companies of the first regiment of guards ; in all about 1400 men. The enemy continued to advance, and their cannon destroyed some of our boats. General Drury, who was now the senior officer on shore, formed his little army, and most imprudently advanced up the hill to meet his enemy. By this manœuvre, he quitted a parapet of sand banks, and effectually silenced the frigates, which could not now fire without destroying their friends. This inconsiderable body of Eng-

lish troops, with every disadvantage of situation, and commanded by a man of no experience or abilities, maintained their ground against ten times their number, till most of them had entirely spent their ammunition. Thus circumstanced, after making terrible havock in the enemies' ranks, they yielded to necessity, and retreated to their boats. Unhappily, the boats then in shore, were insufficient to receive half the number of men which now crowded to the beach, and the boats were consequently in an instant so overloaded, that most of them were a-ground. In this horrible situation, exposed to the continual fire of a numerous army, they remained for some time, till, at last, the commodore himself leapt into his boat, and, rowing to the shore, took one of the flat-boats in tow. The rest of the fleet followed his example, and about seven hundred men were brought on board. The other half were either shot, taken prisoners, or drowned. Among the killed, were Major-general Drury, Lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, and Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lieutenant-colonels Pearson and Lambert, and sixteen officers of inferior rank, were taken prisoners. Four captains of men of war, who went on shore in order to expedite the embarkation of the troops, were also obliged to surrender themselves to the enemy. Eight seamen were killed, and seventeen wounded.

This terrible disaster was very justly ascribed to a total want of military knowledge, sagacity, and experience, in the general, who imprudently gave ear to those about him, who talked of marching through France with a single company of British grenadiers. His marching, in an enemy's country, in a single column, was extremely imprudent. His beating *the general* the morning of his march from Mattingnon, was inexcusable; and his dilatory proceedings on the fatal day of embarkation, admit of no apology. But, though our loss on this occasion was considerable, the

enemy had certainly no great cause of triumph: they had defeated a rear-guard of fourteen hundred men, with an army of at least fifteen thousand, and their loss in killed and wounded was much greater than that of the English. This check, however, was no proof that the minister's plan of operation was improper. His design was fully answered, and was certainly attended with salutary consequences. Commodore Howe returned to Spithead, and the troops were disembarked.

We are now to recollect, that, after the reduction of Senegal, an attempt was made upon the island of Goree; but without success, owing to the want of sufficient naval force. The British minister, sensible that his conquest on the coast of Africa was incomplete without the reduction of this island, sent out a small squadron of four ships of the line, two frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by Commodore Keppel, with six hundred land-forces under Colonel Worge. This armament sailed from Cork on the 11th of November, and, after a tempestuous voyage, anchored in the road of Goree, about a league from the island, on the 24th of December. Goree is a barren island, not a mile in length, situated near Cape Verde. The Dutch took possession of it in the beginning of the last century. The French took it in 1677, and since that period it has remained in possession of their East India Company. On the south-west side there was a small fort called St. Michael, and another, less considerable, called St. Francis, near the opposite extremity. Besides these forts, there were several slight batteries along the shore, mounting in the whole a hundred cannon. The garrison, commanded by Monsieur St. Jean, consisted of three hundred regulars, and about the same number of negro inhabitants.

On the 28th, in the morning, the troops were ordered into the boats, ready for landing, if necessary; and, the ships being properly stationed on the west

side of the island, a general cannonading began, which was answered by the enemy with great spirit, and with such success, that above a hundred of the English were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the French garrison, though not one of them was killed were so terrified by the fire from the ships, that the governor was obliged to surrender at discretion. A detachment of marines was landed to take possession of the island, and the British flag was hoisted on the castle of St. Michael.

Mr. Keppel, having taken his prisoners on board, and left a sufficient garrison under the command of Major Newton, touched at Senegal, and then returned to England. But this expedition, though successful, was not unattended by misfortunes. The Litchfield, of fifty guns, a transport, and a bomb-ketch, were on their outward passage separated from the fleet, and wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy. A hundred and thirty people, among whom were several officers, were drowned. Captain Barton, with about two hundred and twenty, reached the inhospitable shore. They suffered great hardships, and were enslaved by the emperor of Morocco, our worthy ally, who held them in captivity till they were ransomed by the king of Great Britain. Such is the faith of barbarian princes.

Our naval exploits in the West Indies, in the course of this year, were not attended with any important consequences. There were performed, however, several gallant actions, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Captain Forrest, of the Augusta, having sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, cruised off Cape Francis, a harbour in the island of St. Domingo; he was accompanied by the Captains Suckling and Langdon, commanding the Dreadnought and Edinburgh. There lay at that time, at the Cape, a French squadron of four ships of the line and three stout frigates, which the French commodore, piqued at seeing the coast insulted by Forrest's little squa-

dron, reinforced with several store-ships, which he mounted with cannon, and supplied with seamen from the merchant vessels, and with soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out for sea. When Forrest perceived the approach of the French ships, he called to his two captains. "Gentlemen," said he, "you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy—shall we give them battle?" Being answered in the affirmative, he bore down on the French fleet, and, between three and four in the afternoon, came to action. The French attacked with great impetuosity, and displayed uncommon spirit in the sight of their own coast. But, after an engagement of more than two hours, their commodore found his ship so much shattered, that he was obliged to make a signal for his frigates to tow him out of the line. The rest of the squadron followed his example, and availed themselves of the land breeze to escape in the night from the three British ships, which were too much damaged in their sails and rigging to pursue their victory.

Captain Forrest signalized his courage in this engagement; but he displayed equal courage, and still more uncommon conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near the western coast of Hispaniola. Having received intelligence, that there was a considerable French fleet at Port-au-Prince, a harbour on that coast, ready to sail for Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruise between Hispaniola and the little island Goave. He disguised his ship with tarpaulins, hoisted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid discovery, allowed several small vessels to pass without giving them chace. The second day after his arrival in those parts, he perceived a fleet of seven sail steering to the westward. He kept from them to prevent suspicion, but, at the approach of night, pursued them with all the sail he could crowd. About ten in the evening he came up with two vessels of the chace, one of which fired a gun, and the

other sheered off. The ship which had fired, no sooner discovered her enemy, than she submitted. Forrest manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight sail to leeward, near the harbour of Petit Goave, ordered them to stand for that place, and to intercept any vessels that attempted to reach it. He himself, in the Augusta, sailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. The Solide, the Theodore, and the Marguerite, returned his fire; but, having soon struck their colours, they were immediately secured, and then employed in taking the other vessels, of which none had the fortune to escape. The nine sail, which, by this well-conducted stratagem, had fallen into the power of one ship, and that even in the sight of their own harbours, were safely conducted to Jamaica, where the sale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forrest acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel secured the English navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this enterprising and judicious commander demolished a fort on the Island of Martinico, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the same year, he, in his own ship, the Buckingham of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the Weasle sloop commanded by Captain Boles, discovered, between the islands of Guadaloupe and Montserrat, a fleet of nineteen sail under convoy of the Florissant, a French man of war of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largest carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-six guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardless of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chace in the Buckingham; and the Weazle, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the Florissant. Though she sustained it without considerable damage, Mr. Tyrrel ordered Captain Boles

to keep aloof, as his vessel could not be supposed to bear the shock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The Florissant, instead of lying to for him, made a running fight with her stern chace, while the two frigates annoyed the Buckingham in her pursuit. At length, however, she came within pistol-shot of the Florissant, and poured in a broadside, which did great execution. The salutation was returned with spirit, and the battle became close and obstinate. Mr. Tyrrel, being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, and the command devolved on the brave Mr. Marshall, his first lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The second lieutenant took the command, and finally silenced the enemy's fire. On board the Florissant one hundred and eighty men were slain, and three hundred wounded. She was so much disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat. The largest frigate received equal damage. The Buckingham had only seven men killed, and seventeen dangerously wounded: she had suffered much, however, in her masts and rigging, which was the only circumstance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under so powerful a convoy.

In the East Indies the French squadron was commanded by M. D'Aché, and the English by Admiral Pocock, who had succeeded Admiral Watson. The former was reinforced by a considerable armament under the command of General Lally, an adventurer of Irish extraction in the French service. The English admiral was also reinforced on the 24th of March by four ships of the line; and, being soon after apprized of Lally's arrival, he hoisted his flag on board the Yarmouth, a ship of sixty-four guns, and sailed in quest of the enemy. He made the height of Negapatam the 28th of March, and the day following discovered the enemy's fleet in the road of Fort St. David. It consisted of eight ships of the line, and a frigate, which immediately stood out to

sea, and formed the line of battle. Pocock's squadron consisted only of seven ships; with which he formed the line, and, bearing down upon M. D'Aché, began the engagement. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, in which one of his largest ships was disabled, sheered off with his whole fleet. Being afterwards joined with two more ships of war, he again formed the line of battle to leeward. Admiral Pocock, though his own ship and several others were considerably damaged, and, though three of his captains* had misbehaved in the engagement, prepared again for the attack. But the manœuvres of the French fleet seem to have been intended merely to amuse him; for they neither shewed lights, nor gave any signal in the night, and next morning the smallest trace of them could not be observed.

Admiral Pocock made various attempts to bring the French squadron to a second engagement. These, however, proved ineffectual till the 3d of August, when he perceived the enemy's fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, standing to sea off the Road of Pondicherry. They would have gladly eluded his pursuit, but he obtained the weather gage, and sailed down upon them in order of battle. As it was now impossible to escape without coming to action, the French prepared for the en-

* Captain Brereton, of the Cumberland, was one of the three who misbehaved. God forbid that we should particularise an individual with a view to insult his misfortunes. A man may possess much probity, great good sense, and many amiable qualities, without being born with that constitutional courage, or endowed with that accurate circumspection, which qualifies him for doing his duty as a sea-officer. We name this gentleman as an example, that the character of a naval commander, when once hurt by misconduct, is seldom to be retrieved; and we would, if possible, persuade men in power of the dangerous consequences of again intrusting, with an honourable employment, those who, on any former occasion, have shewed themselves undeserving of so important a charge.

gagement, and fired on the Elizabeth, which happened to be within musket-shot of the ship in their van. But this spirited attack was not seconded with equal perseverance. In little more than ten minutes after Admiral Pocock had displayed the signal for battle, M. D'Aché set his fore-sail, and bore away, maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line for nearly an hour. The whole squadron immediately followed his example; and at two o'clock they cut away their boats, crowded sail, and put before the wind. They escaped by favour of the night into the Road of Pondicherry; but their fleet was so much damaged, that, in the beginning of September, their commodore sailed for the Isle of Bourbon in order to refit, thus leaving the English admiral, whose squadron had always been inferior to that of the French in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal, sovereign of the Indian seas.

Having examined the naval successes of Great Britain in the different quarters of the world, we shall, for the reader's satisfaction, exhibit in one view the consequences of these glorious exploits. During the course of this year the French lost sixteen men of war, while the English lost no more than three: the French lost forty-nine privateers and armed merchantmen, carrying six hundred and nineteen guns and three thousand eight hundred and twenty-four men. The diminution of their commerce, and the dread of falling into the hands of the English, prevented many of their trading vessels from venturing to sea. Of these, however, they lost one hundred and four; and not less than one hundred and seventy-six neutral vessels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval stores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the English navy.

The loss of ships, on the part of Great Britain, amounted to three hundred and thirteen, a considerable number, but consisting chiefly of empty

transports, and coasting or disarmed vessels, of little value or importance.

The capture of so many of the enemy's vessels, though it added much wealth and glory to those concerned in maritime affairs, was not the only, or even the principal advantage which Great Britain derived from the spirited efforts of her seamen. The conquests acquired to the nation were still more important. Not to mention the taking of Fort Du Quesne, on the river Ohio, a place of the utmost consequence, on account both of its strength and situation; the acquisition of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, were events not more destructive to the commerce and colonies of France, than advantageous to those of Great Britain: even the British expeditions to the coast of France, though conducted with little prudence, brought glory and renown to the invaders, and taught an ambitious people, that, while they were intent on ravaging the territory of their neighbours their own dominions were still within the reach of the British thunder.

The repeated triumphs of the year had inspired the English with a warlike enthusiasm: they discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest; and every object appeared inconsiderable, compared with military glory. In this disposition of the nation, the king assembled the parliament the 23d day of November. The lord-keeper, who harangued them in his name, the king being indisposed, recapitulated the glorious events of the war, and observed, that, as it was uncommonly extensive, it must likewise be uncommonly burdensome; but that no higher supplies should be required, than such as were adequate to the necessary services. The nation were not at present in a temper to refuse any reasonable demand. They voted, therefore, sixty thousand seamen, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-

five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and they granted for their maintenance the sum of three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Besides this, two hundred thousand pounds were voted towards the building and repairing of ships of war. These sums together, how enormous soever they may appear, amounted to little more than was annually expended in subsidies to German princes, and pay to German troops. Yet the former rendered the English name illustrious in every quarter of the globe, while the advantages of the latter still remain undiscovered.

The operations of the year 1759 began in the West Indies. In the end of the preceding year, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with one frigate and four bomb-ketches, as well as sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, commanded by General Hopson, sailed thither, with orders to attack and reduce the French Caribbee Islands. The fleet was to be under the orders of Commodore Moore, who was already in those parts. Martinico, as the seat of government, and the centre of commerce, is the most considerable of these islands. The principal towns are St. Pierre and Port-Royal, places strong by nature and art, and at that time defended by a numerous and well-disciplined militia, as well as by a considerable body of regular troops. Port-Royal was the first object of English ambition. The ships of war easily drove the enemy from their batteries and entrenchments, and the troops landed without meeting any considerable opposition: but after they had effected their landing, they found it impossible to convey the cannon to a sufficient vicinity for attacking the town. General Hopson judged the difficulties on the land side insurmountable. Commodore Moore thought it impossible to land the cannon nearer the town; and, in consequence of these opinions, the forces were re-embarked, in order to proceed to St. Pierre. When they had arrived before that place, and examined its

situation, new difficulties arose, which occasioned a council of war. The commodore had no doubt of being able to reduce the town, but, as the troops had suffered greatly by diseases, and the ships might be so much disabled in the attack, as to prevent them from availing themselves of their success, and from undertaking any other expedition during that season, he advised, that the armament should be brought before Guadaloupe, the reduction of which would tend greatly to the benefit of the English sugar-islands. Guadaloupe falls little short of Martinico in the quantity and richness of its productions. It long continued, however, in a languishing condition, the French having treated Martinico with the predilection of a partial mother for a favourite child, to the great prejudice of all her other colonies. But the situation and natural advantages of Guadaloupe abundantly justified the opinion of Commodore Moore; and if our ministers had understood the value of such a conquest, this island might have still continued a bright gem in the British crown. The fleet arrived, on the 23d of January, before the town of Basseterre, the capital of Guadaloupe, a place of considerable extent, defended by a strong battery, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the shipping. But Commodore Moore entertained very different sentiments, and brought his ships to bear on the town and citadel. The Lion, a ship of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Trelawney, began the engagement, against a battery of ninety guns: the rest of the fleet took their stations a-breast of the other batteries, and the action, in a little time, became general. The commodore, mean while, shifted his flag into the Woolwich frigate, and kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might have a more distinct view of the state of the battle; an expedient seldom practised, though the propriety of it cannot admit of the smallest doubt. All the sea-commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit

and resolution in the attack; particularly Captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney, and Shuldam. The action had lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the fire of the citadel was silenced. The Burford and Berwick being driven to sea, Captain Shuldam in the Panther, was unsupported, and two batteries played on the Rippon, Captain Jekyl, who silenced one of them, but could not prevent his vessel from running a-ground. The enemy, perceiving her disaster, assembled on the hill, lined the trenches, and poured in a severe fire of musquetry: they afterwards brought an eighteen pounder to bear, and, for two hours, raked her fore and aft with great effect: a box containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire. The captain hoisted a signal of distress, which brought Captain Leslie, in the Bristol, who ran in between the Rippon and the battery, and engaged with such impetuosity, as saved Captain Jekyl from destruction, which otherwise was unavoidable. At seven in the evening, the large ships having silenced the batteries to which they were opposed, the four bombs began to play on the town, with shells and carcasses. In a short time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with a terrible explosion, and the sugar, rum, and other combustible materials composing a continued and permanent line of fire, formed a suitable back-ground to this terrible picture.

Notwithstanding the vivacity of the engagement, the loss, on the part of the British, was not very considerable. Next day our fleet came to anchor in the road, off Basseterre, having intercepted several ships, which had turned out and endeavoured to escape. They found the hulls of several more vessels, which the enemy had set on fire, to prevent them from falling into their hands. The troops landed in the afternoon, without opposition, took possession of the town and citadel, and displayed the British

colours on the walls. The country, however, was still far from being reduced: it abounded in mountains and narrow defiles, of difficult and dangerous access; and although the governor, Monsieur D'Etreuil, possessed neither bravery nor conduct, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe were determined to defend their possessions to the last extremities. It is foreign to our design to enter into any detail of the operations by land, which were drawn out to an extraordinary length. The French were too prudent to hazard a general engagement with regular troops: they determined to weary them out, if possible, by maintaining a kind of petty war, in detached parties, in which the British were harassed by hard duty, and suffered greatly by diseases in an unhealthy climate, ill supplied with those conveniencies to which they were accustomed. In this manner the war continued from the 24th of January till the 1st of May, when the inhabitants of Guadaloupe thought proper to capitulate. Their example was followed a few days afterwards, by those of Desirade, Santos, and Petite-Terre, three small islands in that neighbourhood; and, on the 26th May, the island of Marie-Galante likewise surrendered, which left the French no footing in the Leeward Islands.

These conquests being happily finished, part of the troops were sent in the transports to England. They sailed the 3d of July from the harbour of Basseterre; and next day Commodore Moore's squadron was joined by two ships of the line, which rendered him greatly superior to M. De Bompart, the French commodore, who lay in the harbour of Martinico. At this time Vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station; but neither he nor Moore could bring M. De Bompart to an engagement: so that the naval transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, consisted solely in the taking of several rich prizes and armed ships of the enemy, by cruisers detached from the English squadrons.

The reduction of Guadaloupe, and the neighbouring islands, afforded an auspicious omen for the success of the British operations in North America. These were carried on in the year 1759, on the most extensive scale. The splendour of military triumph, and the display of extraordinary genius in the art of war, eclipsed, in some measure, the glory of the navy. But if we consider the conduct of the war with attention, we shall find, that our admirals had a principal share in the happy consequences which resulted even from our military expeditions. The hearty and powerful co-operation of the navy facilitated every enterprise; but the nation, fond of novelty, and transported with their successes by land, to which they were less accustomed, conferred the most exalted honours on their generals, while they hardly bestowed due praise on the naval commanders. About the middle of February, a squadron of twenty-one sail of the line sailed from England, under the command of the Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of approved honour and bravery. By the 21st of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but, the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax. From hence they detached Rear-admiral Durel, with a small squadron, to the Isle of Courdres, in the river St. Lawrence, in hopes that he might intercept a fleet of French transports and victuallers, destined for Quebec. He accordingly took two store-ships; but, before he reached his station, seventeen sail of transports had already got to the capital of Canada. Meanwhile Admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg, and took on board eight thousand troops, under the command of General Wolfe, whose name is so illustrious in the memoirs of the present year. With this armament it was intended, that the General should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec. The reduction of this wealthy and populous city, which gave an opening to the possession of all Canada, was

the object to which all the other operations of the English in North America were subservient, and which they were designed to assist. For this purpose General Amherst, who commanded an army of regulars and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, was ordered to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain, and proceed along the river Richelieu, to the banks of the St. Lawrence, to effect a junction with the armament under Wolfe and Saunders. For the same purpose, General Prideaux, who commanded the provincials of New York, with a large body of the Indians of the five nations, collected by the influence of Sir William Johnson was commissioned to invest the French fort erected near the Fall of Niagara, and, having seized that important pass, to embark on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, and co-operate with the united armies. This scheme, however, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution. The operations began by the taking of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga; the English standard was also displayed at Niagara. But these events were not of the smallest importance in effecting the conquest of Quebec; nor did the troops engaged in them afford any assistance to the northern armament. This, of itself, under such commanders as Wolfe and Saunders, seconded by the happy star of Britain, which every where prevailed in the present year, was sufficient to perform far more than had been expected, and to overcome obstacles of art and nature, that, at first sight, appeared insurmountable.

Admiral Saunders arrived the latter end of June, with his whole embarkation, at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec. As he had discovered some excellent charts of the river St. Lawrence in vessels taken from the enemy, he experienced none of those difficulties with which the navigation of this immense stream is said to be attended. The island of Orleans extends quite up to the basin of Quebec,

and its most westerly point advances to a high promontory on the continent, called Point Levi. Both these were at present occupied by the French, but not with such powerful guards as their importance required. The first operation of General Wolfe's troops was, to dislodge the enemy, and to secure these posts, without the command of which the fleet could not have lain in safety in the harbour of Quebec. This city now appeared full to view, at once a tempting and discouraging sight: no place is more favoured by nature, and there is none of which nature seems more to have consulted the defence: it consists of an upper and lower town, the former built on a lofty rock, which runs with a bold and steep front along the western banks of the river St. Lawrence: at the termination of this ridge, the river St. Charles, from the north-west, and the St. Lawrence join their waves, which renders the ground on which Quebec stands a sort of peninsula. On the side of St. Lawrence is a bank of sand, which prevents the approach of large vessels to the town; an enemy, therefore, who attacks it, must either traverse the precipice which I have mentioned, or cross the river St. Charles. If he attempts the former, he must overcome a dangerous rock, defended by the whole force of the besieged, which the importance of the post would draw thither. The difficulty of approaching the place, by Charles River, is not less considerable, as all the country to the northward, for more than five miles, is rough, broken, and unequal, full of rivulets and gullies, and so continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a steep and woody hill. Between the two rivers the French army was posted, their camp strongly fortified, and their forces, amounting to twelve thousand men, commanded by M. Montcalm, a general of tried bravery and conduct. General Wolfe, having seized the west point of the Isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, erected batteries on the high grounds, which fired continually on

the town. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the north channel of the Isle of Orleans, opposite the Falls of Montmorenci, while Admiral Holmes proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, beyond Quebec, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts against the batteries already erected by the English. But notwithstanding this advantageous position, to undertake the siege of a city skilfully fortified, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and defended by an army far superior to that of the besiegers, was a design so bold and adventurous, that even the sanguine temper of General Wolfe began to despair of its success: yet, whatever it was possible to perform, he was determined to attempt. He caused the troops, therefore, to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had crossed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. But his endeavours in this way proved ineffectual, M. Montcalm having chosen his situation with too much judgment to abandon it imprudently. Meanwhile the fleet had been exposed to the most imminent danger. A violent storm had caused several transports to run foul of each other; many boats foundered, and some large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confusion produced by this disaster, sent down seven fireships from Quebec at midnight, which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the whole expedition, had not the English sailors resolutely boarded these instruments of destruction, run them fast a-ground, and prevented them from doing the smallest damage to the British squadron.

The general, despairing of being able to decoy the enemy to an engagement, and sensible that the approach of winter would put an end to all military operations in that northern climate, came at last to the

resolution of forcing the French entrenchments. The best dispositions were made for this purpose both by sea and land; but the design was disappointed by an accident which could neither be foreseen nor prevented: the English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themselves on the beach; but, instead of attending to this necessary injunction, they rushed with an impetuous ardour towards the enemy's entrenchments in the most tumultuous confusion: they were met by a violent and steady fire, which prevented them from being able to form, and obliged them to take shelter behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach. There they were forced to continue till night came on, when it was necessary to make a retreat, which could not be effected without considerable loss.

This check is said to have had a strong effect on the mind and health of General Wolfe, who saw all his own measures miscarry, while those of other commanders in North America, during the same year, had been attended with extraordinary success. About this time he sent home a letter, couched in terms of despondency, but which displayed a spirit that would continue the campaign to the last possible moment. As it seemed necessary to abandon all farther prospects of gaining any advantage on the side of Montmorenci, Admiral Holmes's squadron, which had returned to assist in the late unsuccessful attack, was again ordered to move up the river for several days successively. This had a better effect than before; for, though Montcalm kept his situation, he detached M. De Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of the English admiral. Admiral Saunders, who still remained in his first position, was ordered to make a feint with every appearance of reality, as if the troops had intended to land below the town, and attack the French entrenchments on the Beauport shore. While the enemy were amused by these movements, the general embarked his troops

aboard the transports the 12th of July at one in the morning, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing: then he put them into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French centinels posted along the shore: the ships of war followed them, and, by a well-conducted navigation, arrived exactly at the time concerted to cover their landing. When they were put on shore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and steep, having a little winding path, so narrow that two men could not go abreast, and even this strongly entrenched and defended by a captain's guard. This small body was speedily dislodged by the English light infantry; after which the whole army ascended the hill, and at day-break appeared regularly formed in order of battle.

Montcalm could hardly believe the advices that were brought him, so impregnable did he imagine the city to be on this side: but his own observation soon convinced him of the English movements, and that the high town might be attacked by their army, while the low town might be destroyed by their fleet. It was thus become necessary, notwithstanding all his disinclination to such a measure, to decide the fate of Quebec by the event of a battle: accordingly he quitted Beauport, passed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops opposite to the English army. The success of this engagement, conducted with the most deliberate wisdom, united with the most heroic bravery, put Great Britain in possession of the capital of French America. It is foreign to my design to describe the judicious disposition, animated behaviour, and steady persevering courage of the British troops: these were the immediate cause of the reduction of Quebec; but the matter could not have been brought to this issue, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perseverance, that can never be enough celebrated. When the English entered the place, they found the fortifications in so

lerable order, but the houses almost totally demolished. Five thousand men were left to defend the garrison, and the remainder returned to England with the fleet, which sailed soon, lest it should be locked up by the frost in the river St. Lawrence.

If we turn our attention to the affairs of the East Indies, we shall find the British arms equally triumphant. The French were unsuccessful in all their attempts by land, particularly in the siege of Madras: they had still, however, a considerable superiority of land-forces in India, and they had strained every nerve to enable the fleet under M. D'Aché to cope with that of Admiral Pocock. The former was augmented to eleven sail of the line, besides frigates and store-ships, an armament hitherto unknown in the Indian seas. The English commander no sooner had intelligence of their arrival in those parts, than he sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and determined, by the most unremitted exertions of vigilance, to pursue, and give them battle. This resolution shews the ardour and spirit of the English navy at this period, as their enemies had a superiority of one hundred and ninety-two guns, two thousand three hundred and sixty-five men, besides a great advantage in the size of their ships. In the morning of the 2d of September, the French fleet were descried from the mast-head: Admiral Pocock immediately threw out the signal for a general chace; but, the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage, though he crowded all the sail he could carry: during several days his endeavours to bring the French fleet to an engagement, which they always declined, were equally fruitless. At length they totally disappeared, and the admiral stood for Pondicherry, on a supposition that they intended to sail thither. His conjecture was well-founded; for, on the 8th day of September, he observed them standing to the southward, and, on the 10th, about two in the afternoon, M. D'Aché seeing no possibility to escape, made the

signal for battle. The cannonading began without farther delay, and both squadrons engaged with equal impetuosity: but the French directing their cannon at the masts and rigging, while the English fired only at the hulls of the ships, the former sustained such a loss of men, and found their vessels in so shattered a condition, that they were glad to sheer off, with all their canvas set. The loss on the side of the English was not inconsiderable, there being in the whole five hundred and sixty-nine men killed and wounded: but that on the side of the French must have been far greater, as their ships could hardly keep the sea, and they were obliged to make the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted. Soon after this engagement, Admiral Cornish arrived from England with four ships of the line, and confirmed the dominion of the English over the Indian seas.

The French, being equally unsuccessful in Asia, Africa, and America, sought in vain to repair their misfortunes: no sooner was a fleet put to sea than it was either taken or destroyed: they were active to no purpose; for, while they built and armed vessels with the greatest speed and diligence, they only laboured for the English, whose fleet was continually augmented by captures from the enemy. But neither the loss of their possessions, nor the destruction of their fleets, nor the complaints of twenty millions of people exhausted by oppression, could check the fatal ambition of the French court. The ministry seemed to derive courage from despair, and the greater misfortunes they sustained, the more daring were the projects which they had in agitation. All their ports were now filled with preparations for an invasion of Great Britain. Men of war, transports, and flat-bottomed boats were got ready with the utmost diligence: they talked of a triple embarkation. M. Thurot, who, from being captain of a merchant-vessel, had successively become a commander of a

privateer, and now a commodore in the French service, commanded a squadron of men of war and several transports at Dunkirk, which, it was believed, were intended against Scotland. The design against England was to be carried on from Havre de Grace and some other ports of Normandy, where a great number of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared for the purpose of transporting troops. The third embarkation, destined against Ireland, was to be made at Vannes in the Lower Brittany. The land-forces were commanded by the Duc D'Aguillon, while a powerful squadron under M. De Conflans was to cover and secure their landing. In order to counteract these machinations, the English ministry ordered a squadron under Commodore Boyce to be stationed before Dunkirk: Admiral Hawke was sent with a large fleet to block up the harbour of Brest, while a smaller fleet kept a watch upon that of Vannes. As to Havre, from which the danger seemed most imminent, Rear-admiral Rodney was dispatched, with orders immediately to proceed to the bombardment of that place. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre in the beginning of July, and made a disposition to execute his instructions. The bomb-ketches were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur; and, having begun the bombardment, continued to throw their shells for above two days without intermission. The town was set on fire in several places, the boats overset or reduced to ashes, and, at the expence of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, the French preparations at Havre were totally destroyed.

While the danger threatening England from the northern coast of France was thus happily removed, the honour of the British flag was effectually maintained by the gallant Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had assembled there a considerable armament, under the command of Monsieur De la Clue, which some

believed to be destined for America, while others conjectured, that it was designed to reinforce the squadron at Brest, and to co-operate with it in the intended descent on the English coast. At present M. De la Clue continued to lie in the harbour of Toulon, before which Admiral Boscawen took his station with fourteen ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships.

Boscawen, having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, and tried every other art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Barker, and Harland, to advance and burn two French vessels lying close to the mouth of the harbour. They prepared for executing their orders with the utmost alacrity, but met with a warm reception from several batteries, which had not been before perceived; and, the wind unfortunately subsiding into a calm, they sustained such considerable damage, as made it convenient for the English admiral to put into Gibraltar, to refit his shattered ships. M. De la Clue seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Gut of Gibraltar unmolested, during the absence of the English fleet. But Boscawen had previously detached two frigates, of which one cruised off Malaga, and the other hovered between Estepona and the fortress of Ceuta, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of August, the Gibraltar frigate made the signal at the mast-head for the enemy being in sight; upon which the English admiral, without delay, hove up his anchors, and put to sea. At day-light he descried seven large ships, part of M. De la Clue's squadron, from which five ships of the line and three frigates had been separated in the night. Having made the signal to chace, and to engage in line of battle a-head, his foremost ships came up with the rear of the enemy about half after two. The admiral himself did not wait to return the fire of the sternmost, but employed every effort to

come up with the Ocean, which M. De la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock he ran athwart her hawse, and poured into her a furious broadside, which was returned with equal vivacity. This dispute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boscawen's vessel had lost her mizen-mast and top-sail-yards, went off with all the sail he could carry. Mr. Boscawen shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, and joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, which was obliged to strike. The pursuit continued all night, and M. De la Clue, finding himself at day-break on the coast of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ships, than allow them to fall into the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portuguese shore, he put his ship under the protection of Fort Almadana, to which the English paid no regard. He himself landed with part of his men; but the Count De Carne, who succeeded to the command of the Ocean, having received a broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, deemed the best ship in the French navy. Meanwhile Captain Bentley brought off the Temeraire, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while Rear-admiral Broderic burnt the Redoubtable, and took the Modeste. The scattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loss of only fifty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-six wounded, and not one officer lost in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a disaster by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting possession of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in such a situ-

ation in Germany, as might afford them the prospect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the unhappy necessity, therefore, of trying a last effort on an element which had hitherto been extremely unpropitious to all their designs. Their sole hopes now centered in their fleets at Brest and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by Admiral Hawke, and the latter by Commodore Boyce. They still expected, however, that the winter storms would compel the English fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to cross the sea unopposed, and to execute the object of their destination against the British coasts. In this expectation they were not wholly disappointed: on the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, drove the English squadrons off the French coast. Thurot, a French adventurer, availed himself of this accident, to obtain his release from Dunkirk, without being discovered by Commodore Boyce, who, upon the first information of his departure, sailed immediately in pursuit of him: but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburgh, in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas.

Admiral Hawke's squadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the storm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to subside, the French Admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coast, immediately put to sea. But the same day that he sailed from Brest, the English admiral sailed from Torbay. The two squadrons were the most powerful of any employed in the course of the war, and worthy to be entrusted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces were nearly equal; the English being, by some vessels, more numerous,

but having no superiority in number of men, or weight of metal.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his course for Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. But here fortune opposed his well-concerted measures; for a strong gale sprung up in an easterly point, and drove the English fleet a great way to the westward: at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the shore. The Maidstone and Coventry frigates, who had orders to keep a-head of the squadron, discovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the Island of Belleisle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a signal for seven of his ships, that were nearest, to chace, in order to detain the French fleet until they themselves could be reinforced with the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chaced, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. These manœuvres indicated the utmost resolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempestuous, and the sea, on this treacherous coast, was indented with sands and shoals, shallows and rocks, as unknown to the English pilots as they were familiar to those of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke, animated by the innate fortitude of his own heart, and the warm love of his country, disregarded every danger and obstacle that stood in the way of his obtaining the important stake which now depended. M. De Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the address which his situation required. As he was unwilling to risk a fair engagement, he could have

no other view but to draw the English squadron among the rocks and shoals, in order that, at a proper time, he might take advantage of any disaster that befel them: but, fluctuating between a resolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the British ships to come up with him, and then crowded his sail when it was too late to escape. At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The Formidable, commanded by the French rear-admiral, M. Du Verger, behaved with uncommon resolution, and returned many broadsides poured into her by the English ships as they passed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire, and ordered his master to carry him alongside the French admiral. The pilot observed, that he could not obey his orders, without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal: the brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you now are to obey my commands, and lay me alongside the Soleil Royal." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his desire, the Thesèe, a French ship of seventy guns, generously interposed itself between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had destined for a greater occasion. In returning this fire, the Thesèe foundered, in consequence of a high sea that entered her lower-deck ports: the Superbe shared the same fate; the Heros struck her colours; and the Formidable did the same, about four in the afternoon. Darkness coming on, the enemy fled towards their own coast. Seven ships of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river Villaine: about as many more, in a most shattered and miserable condition, escaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee shore, Sir Edward made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of dis-

tress. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ship on shore, where she was soon after set on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the English sustained little loss but what was occasioned by the weather. The Essex and Resolution unfortunately ran on a sand-bank called Lefour, where they were irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but most of their men, and some part of their stores were saved. In the whole fleet, no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loss of the French in men must have been prodigious. All the officers on board the Formidable were killed before she struck. They had, besides, four of the best ships in their navy destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable armament, the last hope of the French marine, shattered, disarmed, and distressed.

It would be unjust to pass over a circumstance which characterizes the spirit that distinguished the English navy at this happy period. Admiral Saunders happened to arrive from his glorious Quebec expedition a little after Hawke had sailed. Notwithstanding the length of the voyage, and the severity of the duty in which he had been so long employed, he lost not a moment in setting sail, with a view to partake the danger and honour of the approaching engagement. Fortune did not favour the generosity of his intentions. He was too late to give assistance; but such a resolution was alone equal to a victory.

Under such commanders, it was impossible that the English should not maintain the ascendancy over their enemies. Accordingly, in the words of a celebrated writer, (Voltaire) who ought not on this subject to be suspected of partiality, "the English had never such a superiority at sea as at this time." But, continues he, "they at all times had the advantage over the French. The naval force of France they destroyed

in the war of 1741; they humbled that of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spanish succession; they triumphed at sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and still more in the unhappy times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I. If we examine into past times, we shall find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip De Valois could not withstand those of the Kings Henry V. and Edward III. of England. What can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea, which the French can live well enough without, is essentially necessary to the English, and that nations always succeed best in those things for which they have an absolute occasion? Is it not also because the capital of England is a seaport, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the English climate produces men of a more steady resolution, and of a more vigorous constitution than that of France, as it produces the best horses and dogs for hunting?" Fearful lest he had gone too far in suggesting a reason, which is doubtless the true one, he returns to his natural scepticism, and concludes in a flattering strain; "but from Bayonne even to the coasts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of an indefatigable labour; and Normandy alone formerly subdued England."

The events above related compose the principal operations of the British navy during the present year. But besides the actions of whole squadrons, there were a great many captures made by single ships, attended with circumstances highly honourable and advantageous. The Favourite, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Edwards, carried into Gibraltar a French ship of twenty-four guns, laden with the rich productions of St. Domingo, valued at 40,000*l*. A French privateer belonging to Granville, having on board two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by the Montague, Captain Parker, who soon after made prize of a

smaller vessel from Dunkirk, mounted with eight guns, and having on board sixty men. About the same period, that is in the month of February, Captain Graves of the Unicorn brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men and two and twenty guns. The Vestal, Captain Hood, belonging to Admiral Holmes's squadron in the West Indies, engaged a French frigate called the Bellona, greatly superior to the Vestal in men and weight of metal, and, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted above two hours, took her, and brought her safely into port. The English frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, descried in the evening of the 28th of March, as they were cruising to the northward, the Danaé, a French ship of forty guns and three hundred and thirty men. The Melampe came up with her in the night a considerable time before the Southampton, and with admirable gallantry maintained the combat against a ship of double her own force. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by until he could distinguish the one from the other. At day-break he bore down on the Danaé with his usual valour, and, after a brisk engagement, in which she had forty men killed, and many more wounded, compelled her to surrender. This victory, however, was clouded by a misfortune which happened to the brave Gilchrist. He received a wound in the shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, rendered him incapable of future service. On the 4th of April, another remarkable exploit was achieved by his Majesty's ship Achilles, commanded by the honourable Captain Barrington. The Achilles, which mounted sixty guns, encountered to the westward of Cape Finisterre, a French ship of equal force, called the Count De St. Florentin, under the command of the Sieur De Montay. After a close engagement of two hours, during which the French captain was slain, and one hundred and six-

teen of his men killed or wounded, the Count De St. Florentin struck her colours. She was so much damaged, that it was very difficult to bring her into Falmouth. The Achilles had but twenty-five men killed or wounded, and had sustained no hurt but in her masts and rigging. On the 27th of March, Captain Faulkner of his Majesty's ship the Windsor, mounting sixty guns, discovered off the rock of Lisbon four large ships to leeward, and gave them chace. As he approached, they formed the line of battle ahead, at the distance of about a cable's length asunder. He closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; and then, upon a signal given, the other three edged off, and the ship engaged struck her colours. She proved to be the Duke De Chartres, pierced for sixty guns, but having only twenty-four, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, as well as the other three that escaped, to the East India Company, was loaded with sixty tons of gunpowder, and an hundred and fifty tons of cordage, with a large quantity of other naval stores. The Windsor had, in this engagement, but one man killed and eighteen wounded. About the same time, Captain Hughes, of his Majesty's frigate the Tamer, took and carried into Plymouth two privateers, called Le Chasseur and Le Conquerant, the one from Cherburgh and the other from Dunkirk. A third, called the Dispatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence sloop; while the Basque from Bayonne, furnished with two and twenty guns, fell into the hands of Captain Parker of the Brilliant. Captain Atrobus of the Surprise took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux: and a fifth from Dunkirk struck to Captain Knight of the Liverpool. In the month of May, a French frigate called the Arethusa, mounted with two and thirty guns, and commanded by the Marquis of Vaudreuil, submitted to two English frigates, the Venus and the Thames,

commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby. The engagement was warm; the loss on the side of the English inconsiderable. The enemy had sixty men killed and wounded. In the beginning of June, an armed ship, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by Captain Angel of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Countess De la Serre, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate engagement, by his Majesty's ship the Adventure, commanded by Captain Moore. In the beginning of October the Florissant, a French ship of seventy-four guns, was engaged near the chops of the channel by Captain Porter of the Hercules. The English vessel having lost one of her top-masts and rigging, the Florissant took advantage of this misfortune to sheer off, and escaped behind the Isle of Oleron.

While the English cruisers were attended with continual success in Europe, several armed ships of the enemy and rich prizes were taken in the West Indies. About the same time that the Velour from St. Domingo, carrying twenty guns and above one hundred men, and loaded with a rich cargo, was taken by the Favourite sloop of war, commanded by Captain Edwards, two French frigates and two Dutch ships, laden with French commodities, fell into the possession of cruisers detached from Admiral Coates's squadron stationed at Jamaica. Captain Collingwood, commanding his Majesty's ship the Crescent, off St. Christopher's, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyst and Berkeley: the former escaped, but the latter was conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre.

These particular losses, combined with the general destruction of the French squadrons by Boscawen, Hawke, Saunders, and Pocock, in a great measure ruined the French navy. In the course of the year, the English had enriched their marine with twenty-seven ships of the line, and thirty one frigates of French construction. They had destroyed eight ships

of the line and four frigates, whereas the English navy had lost, during all the various operations of the present year, no more than seven men of war and five frigates. In reviewing the captures of merchantmen, the balance is not so much in our favour. Notwithstanding the courage and vigilance of the English cruisers, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of the year, they took two hundred and ten British vessels, chiefly, however, coasters and small craft, that did not choose to confine themselves and wait for a convoy. On the other hand, we took one hundred and sixty-five merchant-vessels from the enemy; of which, as it appears from some examples above given, many contained very valuable cargoes.

While the naval power of France was drawing to its ruin, her commerce was cut off in its source by the taking of Guadaloupe and Quebec. The French government, broken by repeated calamities, and exhausted by exorbitant subsidies to its German allies, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. The monarch, however, still found a resource in the loyalty and attachment of his people. They acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt; they declared against every suggestion of accommodation that was not advantageous and honourable; and they sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down and coined into specie, for the support of the war.

The liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, which met in November, formed a striking contrast with the indigence of our rivals. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy-three thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and they allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds for their maintenance. The sums destined to other purposes were no less ample; the whole amounted to

fifteen millions five hundred and three thousand five hundred and sixty-four pounds. Of this immense supply not less than two millions three hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds were paid to foreigners, for supporting the war in Germany, exclusive of the money expended by twenty thousand British troops in that country, and the charge of transporting them, with the expence of pontage, waggons, and other contingencies, and the exorbitant article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand pounds.

The comparative expence of our naval preparations, and of the German war, affected, with equal astonishment and concern, many disinterested and dispassionate men, whose imaginations were less heated than those of the bulk of the people with the enthusiastic ardour of victory. Amidst the triumphs of glory and success concealed murmurs were heard, which, in a free nation, were speedily re-echoed with increased force. Men formed themselves into parties according to their different notions upon this subject, and the dispute between the naval and continental schemes came to be the common topic, not only of public assemblies but of private conversation. The abettors of the naval interest asserted, that the insular situation of Great Britain, as well as the continued experience of many ages, clearly pointed out the course which England ought to pursue in her wars with France. They pretended not that the former kingdom ought never, in any case, to take part in the disputes of the continent; but, this they thought, ought always to be as an auxiliary only. She might even engage with success in a continental war against France, provided she had a concurrence in her favour of the neighbouring powers of the continent. This was the grand principle of King William, and the foundation of that alliance, at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he

acted the greatest part that can be allotted to man. It was on the same principle that, in conjunction with the powers of the empire, we carried on the war with so much honour and success against France, under the duke of Marlborough. But to engage in a continental war with that kingdom, not only unassisted but opposed by the greatest part of those states with which we were then combined, is an attempt never to be justified by any comparative calculation of the populousness, the revenues, or the general strength of the two nations. They asserted still farther, that the theatre we had chosen for that war was the most unfortunate that could possibly be imagined. Germany has at all times proved the firmest bulwark against French ambition. What, therefore, could France herself more heartily desire than to see the swords of the Germans turned against each other, and England co-operate with all her power in embittering the hostilities which have already desolated that country. In carrying on a war there, France has many advantages: she supports her armies in a great measure by pillaging those whom, in every view, it is her interest to weaken: she is not very remote from her own frontiers, from which her armies may be recruited and supplied without great expence: even when unsuccessful, she is brought still nearer her own territories, supports her troops with still greater facility, and exhausts still less the natural wealth of her people. If she were obliged to take refuge at home, would the English continue so frantic as to follow her into her own dominions? To Great Britain, on the other hand, every thing is unfavourable in such a war. The utmost success with which her arms can be attended, will only carry the English to a greater distance from their resources; and, by going a certain length, the transport of provision, artillery, ammunition, and the infinite impediments of a large army, must become altogether impracticable. Upon this plan, vic-

tory itself cannot save us, and all our successes will only serve to accumulate new distresses, new difficulties, and new charges. As to the king of Prussia, what does he give us in return for the immense subsidies which are paid him? Instead of assisting our armies, is he able to defend himself? Besides, he is the worst ally we could have chosen, on account of his long and intimate connection with our enemies, and the general lightness of his faith in deserting every engagement which forms an obstacle to his ambition. He is looked upon as the protector of the Protestant religion: but has he not desolated the first Protestant electorate? Has he not divided the reformed states of Germany, and turned their swords against each other? And do not his writings sufficiently testify not only his indifference to the Protestant cause, but his total disregard to all religion whatever? Had England kept herself clear of the inextricable labyrinth of German politics, she might, without exhausting her own vigour by attacking France on her strong side, have been, before this time, in possession of all the French colonies together: even had the French, therefore, got possession of Hanover, which could not have suffered more by this event than it has already done in the course of the war, England, while her own power was entire, and while she held all the commercial resources of France in her hands, must not only have recovered the Hanoverian dominions to their lawful sovereign, but have procured full indemnification to them for what they had suffered in our quarrel.

The advocates for continental measures were obliged to acknowledge the exorbitant expence of a German war; but they affirmed, that, if it had cost England much, it had cost France still more, as the number of French troops to be paid exceeds the difference between French and English pay. They observed, that her subsidies to German princes greatly exceeded ours, although she had not derived so much ad-

vantage from all her allies together as England had done from the victory of the king of Prussia at Rosbach: that the German war had brought the finances of France to that deplorable condition which all Europe had witnessed: that her chief strength and attention, being engaged in this quarter, were in a great measure withdrawn from her navy, her commerce, and her colonies; which had enabled England to deprive her of the best part of her colonies, to render her commerce equally precarious and unprofitable, and to give such a blow to her navy as, perhaps, she might never be able to recover. But had England, instead of exhausting the French resources by diverting their efforts to Germany, allowed that country to receive laws from her rival, the continental war would have soon terminated, and France, strengthened by victory, by conquest, and by alliance, would have preserved the whole force and revenue of her mighty monarchy entire, to act against Great Britain.

These reasonings will be interesting as long as the great system of European politics continues in any measure the same, and as long as the measures of the British court are liable to be warped by the same motives as formerly. I would therefore observe, that taking for granted the facts alleged by the partizans of our German allies, many of which certainly require proof, and supposing that France had expended even more than Great Britain in prosecuting the German war, the principal question would still be undecided. It would be proper still farther to enquire, whether England or France could maintain the same number of troops, and make the same efforts in Germany, at the smallest expence? Whether, on the plan of a continental war alone, the revenues and resources of France or England would be soonest exhausted? And which of the two kingdoms would, with the smallest trouble and expence, augment its navy, and prosecute successful enter-

prises in distant parts of the world? These queries need only be proposed; their solution is obvious, and it shows, in the fullest light, the impropriety of England's carrying the war into the continent of Europe, while France possessed any species of foreign commerce, or a single foot of land in Asia, Africa, or America.

But notwithstanding the force of evidence, and the clamour of party, the court remained firm in its first resolution. The continental system prevailed more than ever; and although the supplies granted for maintaining the navy were liberal beyond example, yet, the strength and attention of the nation being diverted to a different channel, our marine enterprises appeared to languish at a time when past success ought to have caused them to be pushed with the utmost vigour, and fewer exploits were achieved at sea in 1760 than are recorded in the memoirs of the preceding year.

The British navy at this time amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships seventeen were stationed in the East Indies, twenty for the defence of the West India islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of commerce. Considering these mighty preparations, it is remarkable, that the return of the little squadron commanded by Thurot (which, as has already been mentioned, had taken refuge the preceding year in the harbour of Gottenburg in Sweden) should have caused a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconsiderable armament originally consisted of five frigates, on board of which were one thousand two hundred and seventy land-soldiers. They had sailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had suffered so much by storms,

that they were obliged to send back one of their largest vessels to France. It was not till the 5th of December that they were able to sail directly for the place of their destination, which was the northern coast of Ireland. In this voyage their ill-fortune continued to pursue them. For near three months, they were obliged to ply off and on, among the Western Isles of Scotland, during which time they suffered every possible hardship: their men thinned and disheartened, suffering by famine and disease, one ship irrecoverably lost, and the remaining three so shattered, that they were obliged to put into the Isle of Ilay. Here this enterprising adventurer, though oppressed with misfortune, and steeled by such hardships as too often extinguish every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmost justice and moderation, paying handsomely for the cattle and provisions which he had occasion to use, and treating the natives with unusual courtesy and kindness.

As soon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this island, and pursued his destination to the Bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21st of February, he effected a descent with six hundred men. They advanced without opposition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of Colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw and undisciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the ammunition of the English failed; and then Colonel Jennings retired to the castle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all respects untenable, being unprovided in provisions and ammunition, and having a breach in the wall of nearly fifty feet wide: nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, having supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel surrendered, on condition that his troops should be ransomed by ex-

changing them for an equal number of French prisoners; that the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished, nor the town burned or plundered. This last circumstance, however, was not strictly observed. The magistrates of Carrickfergus refused such supplies of wine and provisions as the French officers demanded, and thus, by their own imprudence, caused the town to be subjected to a contribution, which, however, was not immoderate. Thurot, having, by this time, got notice of the defeat of Conflan's expedition, and hearing that a considerable body of regular troops were assembled, and preparing to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and set sail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a squadron, which deserves to be considered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterprise against the British coasts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the Bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coast of the Isle of Man, three sail that bore down on him. These were English frigates, the Æolus of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Elliot, the Pallas and Brilliant, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of the Captains Clements and Logie, who had been dispatched by the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in quest of the French squadron. At nine in the morning, of the 28th of February, Captain Elliot came up with the Belleisle, commanded by Thurot, which was superior to the Æolus in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal; but both ship and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the Pallas and Brilliant attacked the other two ships of the enemy. The action was maintained with great spirit on both sides for an hour and a half, when Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleisle, who immediately struck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The English took possession of their prizes, and conveyed them into the

Bay of Ramsay, in the Isle of Man. In this engagement, three hundred of the French were slain, or disabled; whereas our loss did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become so terrible to all the sea-ports of Britain and Ireland, that the service performed on this occasion was deemed essential to the quiet and security of these kingdoms. The thanks of the House of Commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot as well as to Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus; and the defeat and capture of this petty squadron was celebrated with the most hearty and universal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the last branch of the grand armament which had so long been the hope of France and the terror of Great Britain.

In North America, the affairs of the French had taken such a turn as afforded them a happy prospect of future success. While the operations of the war there were entrusted to the land forces alone, England was unfortunate, and France triumphant: but no sooner did our squadron appear on the coast, than every thing returned to its former situation, and Britain was as victorious as before. The garrison left for the defence of Quebec amounted originally to 5000 men, a number much too small, considering both the nature of the place, and the number of French forces which still remained in Canada. The fortifications of Quebec were weak and incomplete; without any kind of outworks; and the town had been reduced, during the late siege, almost to a ruin. M. Levi had collected at Montreal, 6000 experienced militia of Canada, with 300 Indians, besides ten battalions of regular troops amounting to about 5000 men more. With this force he took the field on the 17th of April; and, while his provisions and ammunition fell down the river St. Lawrence, under a convoy of six frigates, the French army arrived in ten days march at the heights of Abraham, three miles distant

from Quebec. General Murray, who commanded the garrison, had it in his option either to remain within the city, or to march out and try his fortune in the field. As his troops were habituated to victory, and provided with a fine train of artillery, he was unwilling to keep them shut up in a place which appeared to him scarcely tenable. He determined, therefore, to lead them against the enemy: a resolution, which, considering the immense inequality of numbers, for, although the garrison originally consisted of 5000, he had not now above 3000 effective men, savoured more of youthful temerity than of military discretion. At first, however, fortune seemed to favour his designs. The English army having marched out of the city, and descended from the heights of Abraham, attacked the enemy's van with such impetuosity, that it was obliged to give way, and to fall back on the main body. This advantage brought them full on the main army of the French, which, by this time, had formed in columns. The fire became so hot, that it stopped the progress of our troops; and the French, wheeling to right and left, formed a semicircle, which threatened to surround them, and to cut off their retreat. Nearly a third of the English army were now killed or wounded, and nothing could be thought of in this situation, but to make proper movements to secure their return to Quebec. This they effected, without losing many men in the pursuit; and the severe misfortune, occasioned by their own temerity, roused the governor and troops to the most strenuous efforts in defence of the place. The French lost no time in improving their victory. They opened the trenches on the very night of the battle; but, being deficient in artillery, they had performed nothing of consequence before the 15th of May, when the besieged were reinforced by the arrival of the British fleet. Then the enemy understood what it was to be inferior at sea; for, had a French squadron got the start of the English in

sailing up the river, Quebec must have reverted to its former owners.

On the 9th of May, to the great joy of the garrison, an English frigate anchored in the bay, and told them, that Lord Colville, who had sailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April, was then in the river St. Lawrence. He had been retarded in his passage by thick fogs and contrary winds. About the same time, Commodore Swanton, arriving with a small reinforcement from England, and hearing that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the St. Lawrence with all expedition. On the 15th, he anchored at Point Levi, and early next morning ordered Captain Schomberg of the Diana, and Captain Deane of the Lowestoffe to slip their cables, and attack the French fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion, than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town, and all that remained, were taken or destroyed.

M. Levi had the mortification to behold, from the heights of Abraham, this action, which, at one stroke, put an end to all the hopes he had conceived from his late victory. He was persuaded that these frigates, by the boldness of their manner, preceded a considerable reinforcement, and he, therefore, raised the siege in the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a great quantity of baggage, tents, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, with thirty-four peices of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, six mortars, and a great number of scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and other implements necessary in a siege.

This event, which was entirely owing to the seasonable assistance of the fleet, was equally important in itself and in its consequences. While it secured the possession of Quebec, it gave an opportunity to

General Murray to march to the assistance of General Amherst, who was employed in the siege of Montreal, the second place in Canada for extent commerce, and strength. Here the whole remaining force of the French in North America was collected under the command of M. Vaudreuil, an enterprising and artful general, who neglected no means of protracting the siege. At length, he was obliged to yield to the united armies, and, on the 8th of September, 1760, surrendered his garrison to be sent to France, on condition that they should not serve in the present war, and yielded up the inhabitants of his government as subjects to the king of Great Britain.

The French had not neglected to send relief to a place, which was the last object of their hopes for regaining possession of Canada. They had dispatched three frigates, with twenty ships of burden, containing a reinforcement of troops and military stores for the garrison of Montreal. But when the commander of this expedition understood, that the fleet under Lord Colville had anticipated his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, he attempted to land his whole embarkation in the Bay of Chaleurs, that they might endeavour, if possible, to join the principal army by land. But here they were discovered by Captain Byron with three of his Majesty's ships; their armament was taken or destroyed, and their whole design disconcerted. Thus, by the bravery of our troops, and the uncommon spirit, vigilance, and activity of our navy, every attempt of the enemy was frustrated, and the quiet possession of all Canada confirmed to Great Britain.

In the East Indies, the British arms were attended with equal success. After raising the siege of Fort St. George in February, 1759, the English army possessed themselves of the important town and fortress of Conjeveram, as well as of the city Mausulipatam, both on the Coromandel coast. This coast

joins to the rich province of Bengal, where the French interest had been totally ruined by the conduct and gallantry of Colonel Clive.

Encouraged by these advantages, a body of twelve hundred men, Europeans and Seapoys, advanced farther, and attempted to dislodge an army of French and their confederate Indians, encamped under the cannon of a fort near Wandewash. They were repelled with the loss of between three and four hundred killed and wounded. But Colonel Coote, at the head of the principal body of English troops, compensated for this disaster by investing and taking Wandewash in three days. Soon after, he obtained a complete victory over General Lally, who commanded an army twice as numerous as that of the English, and consisting of two thousand two hundred Europeans, and ten thousand blacks. After this decisive engagement, which, excepting the battle of Plaissy, was more important in its consequences than any fought in India during the war, Colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which surrendered in two days. He then prosecuted his march to Arcot the capital of the province, the fort of which being silenced, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of Arcot all the inferior places, such as Permacoil and Allumparva, submitted. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by Rear-admiral Cornish and Major Monson; and Colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beset by the English squadron. This town was the only important settlement which now remained to our enemies in India.

During all this time Admiral Pocock had, with his usual skill and intrepidity, seconded the efforts of the troops. He had more than once compelled M. D'Aché, the greatest admiral that France could boast of, and who alone supported the declining reputation of her marine, to take shelter under the walls of Pon-

dicherry. Pocock had reduced the French ships to a very shattered condition, and killed a great many of their men; but, what shews the singular talents of both admirals, they had fought three pitched battles in the course of eighteen months, without the loss of a ship on either side.

The British squadrons in the West Indies were commanded by Admiral Holmes on the Jamaica station and Sir James Douglas in the Leeward Islands. The active vigilance of these commanders not only enabled them to protect the islands from insult or invasion, but prompted them to annoy the enemy. Rear-admiral Holmes, having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as gave them an opportunity to intercept this fleet. The principal French ship was the Sirenne commanded by Commodore M'Cartie, an Irish officer of considerable reputation. After two sharp engagements she struck to the Boreas, while the other four frigates bore away, with all the sail they could crowd, for the west end of Tortuga, to shelter themselves in Port au Prince. They were pursued by the Lively and Hampshire; the former obliged one of the French frigates to submit, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. The Hampshire stood for the other three, and, running between the Duke of Choiseul and the Prince Edward, engaged them both at the same time. The first, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix; the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours. At the approach of the Hampshire, the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. The Fleur de Lys, that had run into Fresh-Water bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince, shared the same fate; and thus by the gallantry of the Captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, and

the prudent disposition of Admiral Holmes, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed.

Immediately after this event, advice being received by Admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers swarmed about the island of Cuba, he ordered the boats of the Trent and Boreas to be manned, that they might proceed under the direction of the Lieutenants Millar and Stuart, to the harbour of Cumberland in that island. There they met with the Vainqueur of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, the Mackau of six swivels and fifteen men and the Guespe of eight guns and eighty-five men. The boats, after surmounting many difficulties, rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took possession of her under a close fire. The Mackau was taken without resistance; but before they could reach the Guespe, the enemy set her on fire, by which she was destroyed.

The same enterprising courage distinguished the officers of the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Islands. The Captains O'Brian and Taylor, cruising near the Grenades, were informed that the Virgin, once a British sloop, with three French privateers, had taken refuge under the guns of three forts on one of these islands. They sailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprise was crowned with success. Having demolished the forts, they took the four ships after a warm engagement, which lasted several hours. They next entered another harbour on the same island, where they had intelligence of three more ships; they demolished the fort on this harbour, and carried off the three prizes. In returning to Antigua they fell in with thirteen victuallers, who immediately surrendered. At the same time eight privateers were taken by the ships which Commodore Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe.

While the English were carried forward with a continual tide of prosperity in distant parts of the world.

no action of importance was achieved in the British seas by the naval force of that kingdom. Admiral Rodney still maintained his station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe the French movements towards the mouth of the Seine. The Admirals Boscawen and Hawke alternately commanded the powerful squadron which still remained in the Bay of Quiberon, to interrupt the navigation of the enemy, to watch and detain the French vessels which had run into the mouth of the river Villaine after the defeat of Conflans; and to divert the efforts of the French from other quarters, by employing a great number of their forces on that part of the coast.

Meanwhile a numerous body of forces were assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. The troops were actually embarked with a good train of artillery; generals were nominated to the command of the enterprise; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this armament, which had been prepared at an immense expence, and the destination of which remained a profound secret. But, to the astonishment of all those who were not admitted behind the curtain, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction, and in the month of October following, the enterprise was entirely laid aside.

The seeming inutility of these mighty preparations occasioned loud clamours in the nation. These were still farther increased by the inactivity of the powerful squadrons in the British seas. It was said, that with either of these, or with the armament prepared at Portsmouth, we might have reduced the island Martinico in the West Indies, Mauritius on the coast of Africa, or Minorca in the Mediterranean, all which were objects equally important to our power and commerce. It was asked what advantage we derived from those squadrons which were so well provided in all necessaries by the liberality of the supplies, but which were condemned to inactivity, or employed

in useless parade? This question, however, was not unanswerable. The armament at Portsmouth might be intended to intimidate the French into proposals of peace; to alarm the coast of Bretagne, and thereby make a diversion in favour of Germany; or to transport troops into Flanders, in order to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine, and was at first as successful as finally unfortunate in that daring expedition.

Nor were the squadrons on the French coast altogether unnecessary. While Admiral Rodney hovered near the mouth of the Seine, he perceived, on the 5th of July at noon day, five large flat-bottomed boats, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance. These boats were dispatched by way of experiment, to try whether it were possible for vessels of this newly invented construction to escape the vigilance and efforts of an English fleet. The French had prepared above an hundred of them, which then lay at Caen in Normandy. The ten which now sailed, stood backwards and forwards on the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. Rodney till night, and then to proceed under cover of darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions that his small vessels should be ready to sail in the night for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself with the larger ships stood for the steep coast of Port Bassin. The disposition was judicious, and attended with success. The flat-bottomed boats having no way to escape, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of these vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men. The disaster which befel them taught the French minister of the marine not to build any further hopes upon such aukward machines. The remainder were

ordered to be unloaded at Caen, and sent to Rouen to be laid up as useless.

This was not the only service which Rodney's squadron performed. In the month of November, Captain Ourry of the Acteon chaced a large privateer, and drove her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue; and his cutters scoured the coast, and took or destroyed forty vessels of considerable burden, which carried on a great fishing near Dieppe.

Besides the purposes above-mentioned, which were answered by Admiral Boscawen's fleet, it effectually prevented any vessels from sailing from the harbours of Brest or Rochfort, with the design to reinforce the French in North America, which might have protracted the war there to another campaign. The enterprising spirit of this English admiral, impatient of continuing so long in a state of inaction how advantageous soever to the interests of his country, prompted him to employ his men in the execution of some actual service. He exercised them, therefore, in taking a small island near the river Vannes, which he ordered them to cultivate and plant with vegetables for the use of the seamen infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from the constant use of salt provisions, from the sea air, and from a want of proper exercise.

Sir Edward Hawke, who relieved Mr. Boscawen in September, pursued the same plan. Sensible of the inconveniences to which a fleet on that station is exposed for want of fresh water, which must be carried to them by transports hired on purpose, he detached Lord Howe in the Magnanime, with the ships Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little island Dumet, which abounded in that great necessary of life. This island, about three miles in length and two in breadth, was defended by a small fort mounted with nine cannon, and garrisoned with one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who surrendered with little or no resistance after the ships had begun the attack.

While the arms of Great Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which drew the attention of the public from warlike enterprises for a short time. This was, the death of the sovereign, King George II. who departed this life on the 25th of October, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and the seventy-seventh of his age. The immediate cause of his death was a rupture in the substance of the right ventricle of the heart. His death was almost instantaneous, and the rupture occurred without any apparent cause. A circumstance of this kind appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to any sort of excesses, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity.

The reign of this monarch, until the war, in which he was engaged at his death, is not remarkable for any very great events. His subjects, with the exception of the rebellion in 1745, always enjoyed peace and quiet at home. Whenever the national strength was properly exerted, the kingdom always acquired glory. The latter years of his reign were, by much, the happiest; his ministers being highly agreeable to the nation at large, actuated as they ever appeared to be, by a true love of their country, whose interests and glory were their first consideration. George II. lived to see party-rage in a manner extinguished. In his person, he was rather lower than the middle size, well shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and a fair complexion. In his disposition he is said to have been hasty, prone to anger, especially in his youth: in his method of living, he was temperate, regular and methodical. He had taken little pains to improve his mind, and was equally a stranger to learning and the arts, and contributed nothing to their advancement. Inheriting the political prejudices of his father, he never extended his

views beyond the adjustment of the Germanic balance of power. He was plain and direct in his intentions; true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants, whom he did not willingly change. He died universally beloved and regretted by all his subjects. If George II. cannot be ranked among kings who are usually styled great, it must be admitted that he was a worthy and honest man.

We shall now give a brief sketch of the navy, as it stood at the close of this reign, and then finish our fourth volume with some biographical sketches of able and illustrious naval commanders, reserving a few pages to articles already referred to in an Appendix.

LIST OF THE ENGLISH NAVY, AS IT STOOD AT THE DEATH OF KING GEORGE II.

At or near Home, under Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral Boscawen, and others.

3	Ships of 100 Guns.	5	Ships of 70 Guns.
6	—— 90	1	—— 66
1	—— 84	8	—— 64
3	—— 80	12	—— 60
13	—— 74	10	—— 50

In the East Indies, *under Vice-admiral Pococke.*

2	Ships of 74 Guns.	7	Ships of 60 Guns.
1	—— 68	1	—— 58
1	—— 66	3	—— 50
2	—— 64		

In the West Indies, *under Rear-admiral Holmes.*

1	Ship of 90 Guns.	1	Ship of 66 Guns.
2	—— 80	6	—— 64
1	—— 74	4	—— 60
2	—— 70	2	—— 50
1	—— 68		

In North America, *under Commodore Colville.*

1 Ship of 74 Guns.	2 Ships of 64 Guns.
3 ——— 70	3 ——— 60
1 — — 66	2 ——— 50

In the Mediterranean, *under Vice-admiral Saunders.*

3 Ships of 90 Guns.	3 Ships of 60 Guns.
1 ——— 74	3 ——— 50
1 ——— 64	

Making in the whole,	At or near Home....	62
	In the East Indies....	17
	—— West Indies ..	20
	—— America.....	12
	—— Mediterranean	10
		121

During the war, from its commencement in 1755, to the death of George II. the French lost about one hundred ships, which carried four thousand two hundred and twenty-two guns; whereas the loss on the part of the English was about twenty-one ships, that carried eight hundred and sixty guns.

MEMOIRS OF
SIR FRANCIS HOSIER.

Mr. Francis Hosier became a lieutenant in the navy, in the year 1692, when, after having been in that station on board different ships for four years, he was raised to the rank of captain, and appointed to the Winchelsea, a new frigate, mounting thirty-two guns. Though the service never boasted a more brave, or able officer than this gentleman, yet misfortune, or, at least, the absence of good fortune, appears to have attended him, on many occasions, throughout life. His advancement in the navy was slow, but not, on that account, less merited; his opportunities of distinguishing himself few, yet no person ever doubted either his courage, or his promptitude in improving every occasion he could meet with, of being serviceable to his country. After a variety of uninteresting commands, he was, about the year 1710, appointed captain of the Salisbury, and, being sent upon a cruise off Cape Clear, in company with the St. Albans, there experienced, for the first time, a gleam of success, by falling in with a French ship mounting sixty guns, which struck to the Salisbury, after a very smart action, of which that ship bore the principal weight. In compliment to Mr. Hosier, the captured vessel was taken into the service, and named the "Salisbury's Prize." The Salisbury, with her prize, were ordered to be refitted, immediately after their arrival in port, and, when ready for sea, were sent to the West Indies, to reinforce the squadron already stationed in that quarter, under the command of Commodore Littleton. In July, 1711, the British ships being on a cruise, in the hope of falling in with the French Admiral Du Casse, who was said to have sailed with a fleet of Spanish galleons under his protection, fell in with four large

vessels, which were immediately chaced. The Salisbury, with her former prize, which was commanded by Captain Harland, considerably outstripped their companions; but so trivial was the advantage they possessed, in point of sailing, over those they were in pursuit of, that the Salisbury's prize, which was the best sailer, consequently was not able to get up and close with the sternmost of the enemy, till near six o'clock in the evening; but Captain Hosier, joining him soon afterwards, their united assaults compelled their antagonists to surrender, before any other ship could get within gun-shot. The prize proved to be the vice-admiral of the Spanish galleons, mounting sixty guns. Although Captain Hosier continued several years in commission, subsequent to this time, yet no mention is made of him till 1719, when he was appointed second captain of the Dorsetshire; the ship on board which the earl of Berkeley hoisted his flag, Vice-admiral Littleton commanding under him as first captain, and Mr. Hosier as second, with the honorary rank of rear-admiral of the blue. On the 8th of May, 1720, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the white, and was afterwards promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue; but the fleet being ordered to be dismantled, without ever having put to sea, the above promotion was the only advantage he derived from his appointment. After this, he was engaged in a good deal of service, but without being able to distinguish himself. At length, misfortunes, added to the reflection, that though intrusted with an important command, he had been totally incapable of rendering his country that service, which he knew must naturally be expected from the force confided to his direction, overcame him, for he died at sea, as is most confidently reported, of mere chagrin, on the 23d of August, 1727. He was, a few days before his death, advanced to be vice-admiral of the white squadron, but he died before the news of his promotion reached the West Indies. A commission was

also sent out, empowering the governor of Jamaica to confer on him the honour of knighthood: this, it is believed, he received, although some have doubted the fact. The body of this brave and unfortunate officer, after being embalmed, and buried in the ballast of the ship he commanded, was afterwards brought to England for interment. His misfortunes and merit have survived him longer than is usually the case, either with the greatest, or the most unhappy of mankind; and it is no slender testimony of worth, when the absence of panegyric is feelingly supplied by compassion.

CAPTAIN CORNWALL

Was the descendant of a very respectable Herefordshire family; and, after a regular service, in the different subordinate stations, was promoted on the 3d of April, 1724, to be captain of the Sheerness frigate. No mention is made, as to the intervening commissions which he held, from that time till the year 1753, when he was made captain of the Greyhound; in which he was sent, with two others, to exact a reparation from the Salletines, for the outrage committed by one of their corsairs, in capturing a British merchant vessel. Mr. Cornwall was the commanding officer of this little squadron; and although the trust might, at the first view, be considered trivial, yet a moment's reflection will impress the conviction, that it was far from unimportant. He executed the trust with the spirit of an hero, and the prudence of an ambassador. This little armament sailed from Portsmouth on the 3d of March, and arrived, after a quick passage, at Gibraltar on the 11th. It sailed the next day for Tetuan, the bashaw of which place was so much the friend of peace, that he dispatched a messenger to Mequinez, to intercede with the emperor, and induce him to comply with the

just demands of the British court. The matter would have been amicably and speedily settled, had not a considerable number of Portuguese been taken, a little time before, by some of their corsairs, and carried into slavery. These his Imperial Majesty would not consent to release; and, in consequence of his refusal, the British ships, together with some of the Dutch nation, took their stations off Tetuan, and blocked up the port so completely, that none of the corsairs could put to sea. The pride and insolence of the Salletines shrunk under the terror of a pointed attack. The necessary reparation was made, and tranquillity restored, without the necessity of spilling one drop of blood. Mr. Cornwall was not engaged in any subsequent memorable service, during the continuance of peace; but after the commencement of hostilities with Spain, he was pitched upon to command a squadron, intended to be sent into the South Seas, round Cape Horn. This plan was afterwards most strangely abandoned, and one part only of the intended armament was dispatched. This was put under that gentleman's command, who proceeded to the South Seas, instead of Mr. Cornwall. In 1741, he commanded the Bedford, of seventy guns, one of the fleet employed in the Atlantic, under the orders of Sir John Norris, as well for the purpose of protecting the British commerce, as the prevention either of single ships of war, or of small armaments, from slipping out of the ports of Spain, in the hope of carrying into execution, without chastisement, some predatory expedition in a distant quarter of the world. He was afterwards ordered to the Mediterranean, where he was, on the resignation of Captain Graves, appointed to succeed him in the command of the Marlborough. He served with the most distinguished reputation in the unfortunate encounter with the French and Spanish fleets off Toulon, being one of the seconds to Mr. Mathews, the commander-in-chief, whom he most nobly and gallantly supported,

till the fatal moment that deprived him of life, and his admiral of so brave a supporter.

The following extract from a letter, written by an impartial person on board the Marlborough, will sufficiently explain the share which that unfortunate ship held in the encounter: "The first intention of the admiral was, to attack the French commander in chief in the Terrible, of seventy-four guns; our ship and the Norfolk were to have been his seconds; and accordingly passed by within musket-shot of the Real, without firing at her; but finding the French admiral stretched away with all the sail he could, in order to get to windward, the admiral thought he might intercept some of the Spanish ships, and ordered us to tack, and engage the Real. He likewise tacked, and fired at her, receiving one broadside from the Real himself, which wounded his main-mast, and hurt his rigging very much, so that he fell off, and could not come up again, till we were disabled. We were within less than pistol-shot alongside of the Real, who had for her second, a seventy-gun ship that lay upon our quarter. We fired our first broadside at one o'clock, and continued engaged with both these ships, without any assistance, till thirty-five minutes after four; sometimes so near, that our yard-arm touched that of the Real, and were never farther distant than pistol-shot; at last, all the Real's guns were silenced, and she went off; her second followed her, and gave us a broadside at parting. The Real had her main-yard and fore-top mast shot through in several places; two port-holes beat into one. We likewise were disabled; our main-mast and mizen-mast were shot away; our captain, Cornwall, was killed, having both his legs shot off. Captain Godfrey, of Read's regiment, part of which were on board our ship, was killed; our first lieutenant, Frederic Cornwall, had his right arm shot off; our master, Caton, both his legs, and is since dead; fifty men were killed, one hundred and forty wounded. Dalrymple, ensign in

Read's, had all his clothes torn, his back rased, and himself stunned by a cannon-ball; he was carried down as dangerously wounded to the surgeon; but, as soon as he recovered himself, finding his wound but slight, he returned with great courage to his post. Thus disabled, we saw five large ships of the enemy coming down upon us: we were in no condition either to fight or make off, but sent to acquaint the admiral with our state. He had made a signal to the Anne Galley fire-ship, Macky, to endeavour to burn the Real; but the Spanish admiral having perceived his intention, sent his launch full of men to take the fire-ship. In the scuffle, both launch and fire-ship were burnt, and all in them. Our admiral then bore down upon the Real, which being perceived by the ships which were going to attack us, they left us to assist their admiral. This was followed by a very smart engagement between some of our ships and theirs, which lasted about an hour, when the night parted them." The parliament, in gratitude to the bravery of this great, though unfortunate commander, voted a considerable sum of money for the erection of a splendid monument in Westminster-abbey, to his memory.

SIR CHARLES WAGER.

Of the earlier part of this gentleman's naval life, there is no account; not the slightest mention being made of him till he was appointed captain of the Ruzee fire-ship, by commission, bearing date June 7, 1692. His time, during the whole of the war then existing, was occupied in the service of his country; but, from the nature of his employments, it appears to have passed extremely barren of incidents; for, the only occasions on which his name occurs, previously to the accession of Queen Anne are, that in the year 1695, he commanded the Woolwich of fifty-four guns, one of the ships employed

under the orders of Sir Cloudesley Shovel in the Channel, and in 1699, was captain of one of the ships of the line, kept in commission for service, in case of any sudden emergency.

In 1703, he was appointed captain of the Hampton-court of seventy guns, and invested with the rank of Commodore, as being the senior officer of a small squadron, sent to cruise off the coast of France. He does not appear, however, to have been successful either while thus occupied, or on any subsequent occasion; so that his appointment in 1707 to the chief command of a squadron, fitted for the West India station, was one of the most honourable proofs of the high estimation in which his talents were held, notwithstanding the nature of his employments had not afforded him an opportunity of raising himself into public notice. He sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April, the force under his command amounting to nine ships of war, to the protection of which was entrusted a fleet consisting of forty-five sail of merchant-vessels. His rank was, when he sailed, merely that of captain of the Expedition, but he was empowered to hoist a broad pendant, so soon as he should be clear of the British Channel, and appoint a captain to command the ship under himself. He arrived in the West Indies, after a speedy and prosperous voyage, and applied himself on his arrival so attentively to the interests of those colonies, that it was universally admitted, the trade had never been in a more flourishing state, than while Commodore Wager continued to command on that station. During the ensuing winter, a report prevailed that Du Casse was hourly expected to arrive with a squadron of considerable force, having for its object the attack of the island of Jamaica. A different report quickly succeeded to the former; it being stated that the real cause of his errand was that of protecting to Spain an exceedingly valuable fleet of galleons, which were to rendezvous at the

Havannah, and which the whole national marine of that country was in itself unequal to the task of convoying. Mr. Wager, with all that strength of mental faculty which a great man invariably possesses, formed a plan of making himself master of this valuable charge, before the arrival of those who were expected to be its guardians. The proper seizure of this interval was the only circumstance that could, in any degree, even forebode success. On the arrival of Du Casse, the great superiority of his force would have rendered it impracticable. Mr. Wager was well acquainted with the course and route of the galleons; he knew they were to proceed from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, where he expected Monsieur Du Casse would wait for them, and he resolved, if possible, to intercept them during their passage thither. He accordingly divided his force into two parts, and after retaining with himself such ships as he deemed sufficient to master the galleons, which he knew to be well armed, he dispatched the remainder to watch the motions of the enemy, and if possible, to procure some intimation of their intentions. He proceeded to carry his plan into execution, about the middle of the month of January, when he sailed from Port-Royal; but after a successless cruise, he received intelligence, that the galleons were not to quit Porto Bello till the 1st day of May; he accordingly resolved to return to Jamaica, in the hope that the Spaniards might, by such a measure, be lulled into a belief, that, finding himself baffled in his expectations, he had given up all hope of success. All the ships that could be got ready for sea, and which consisted of no more than the Expedition, the Portland, and the Kingston, with a fire-ship, being equipped, the commodore sailed from Port-Royal on the 14th of April; and early in the ensuing month, had the misfortune to encounter a dreadful storm, in which the ships under his orders, and more particu-

larly his own, the Expedition, received much damage. He resolved, however, to repair it as well as he could, fearing the enemy might escape, if he ventured to return back to port. After a tedious interval of suspense, Mr. Wager's anxiety was relieved on the 28th of May, by his discovering, at day-break, two ships standing in for Carthagena, which were by noon, increased to seventeen. The enemy, confident in their superior numbers, and, in some degree, even contemning the small force of the English, seemed rather careless and indifferent whether to fight or endeavour to escape. They held on their course, but without crowding sail, imagining their numbers would deter the English commodore from following them. In this they were mistaken. Finding themselves pursued, and that towards evening, they could not weather Baru, a small island in their track to their destined port, they formed a kind of line, and resolutely determined to contest and end the matter at once. Mr. Wager got along-side of the centre or largest ship, just at sun-set, and immediately began to engage. He is said by Boyer, to have had, at one time, both the vice and rear-admiral upon him, as well as the large French ship just mentioned. No notice, however, is taken of this circumstance by any other historian; but thus far, all agree, that neither the Kingston nor Portland did their duty, or fulfilled the commodore's orders, notwithstanding he purposely hailed the former, and having ordered her to engage the rear-admiral, sent his boat to the Portland, with instructions for him to engage the vice-admiral. Finding these directions were neither of them likely to be complied with, he made the signal for a line of battle, as both the ships kept to windward out of their stations; but of this they were as regardless as they had been of his former orders. The Expedition and the Spanish admiral had been engaged about an hour and a half, when by some accident the latter blew up, eleven only of her crew

being saved, who were picked up floating on some part of the wreck the next day. About ten o'clock, he came up with the ship he was in pursuit of, which afterwards proved to be the rear-admiral. It was then so extremely dark that it was impossible to discover which way the enemy's head lay; so that, firing at a venture, he had the good fortune to pour his whole broadside into the Spaniard's stern, which did him so much damage as to disable him from making sail. The commodore being then to leeward, tacked, and after a short stretch, put about, and weathered his antagonist, whom he immediately re-engaged. The Kingston and Portland being directed by the flashes of his guns, soon after came up, and assisted in the capture of the enemy, who surrendered about two o'clock in the morning. Almost immediately after this time, he received advice from England of his promotion to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron, an advancement which he was till then ignorant of, notwithstanding it had been conferred on him on the 19th of November, in the preceding year. Mr. Wager was, on the 2d of December, 1708, promoted to be rear-admiral of the white; but, though he continued to command on the West India station, till the ensuing autumn, the enemy allowed him no other opportunity of making them feel that chastisement, which he so well knew how to inflict, on every occasion that fortune thought proper to furnish him with. On his return to England, he was received with the strongest testimony of regard, not only by the queen and her ministers, but by all ranks of people; repeated addresses, votes of thanks, and other incontrovertible proofs of the satisfaction of the public were received from the West Indies, each exceeding the other in the warmth of their expressions of respect, and uniting only in one point, their applause of the vigilance, the integrity, and the spirit which Mr. Wager had uniformly displayed, while he continued in that quarter of the world.

Immediately after his return to England, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the red, and received from the queen the honour of knighthood; but he did not take on himself any command, till after the accession of King George I. Immediately after that event, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, as successor to Sir James Wishart, and the appearance of the naval force which he commanded in those seas, obviating the rupture which it had been just before apprehended would take place, he returned to England, and did not again go to sea till the year 1722, so that nothing occurs for us to record during this period, except his promotions, which took place in the following progression: on the 16th of June, 1716, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue; on the 1st of February, 1717, to be vice-admiral of the white; and on the 15th of March following to be vice-admiral of the red. Of his service, between 1722 and 1730, we have given a pretty full account in our history.

Early in the year 1731, in consequence of an apprehended intention in the court of France to invade Great Britain, and the supposed collection of a formidable flotilla, applicable to that purpose, at Dunkirk and Calais, Sir Charles again received orders to hoist his flag, for the last time. The appearance, however, of an attack, vanished as suddenly as the report had been raised; but Sir Charles, who was, in July, advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue, was ordered to proceed to Cadiz, with a fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, for the purpose of seeing the articles of the treaty, concluded between the emperor of Germany and the king of Spain, under the mediation of Great Britain, properly carried into effect. After his return to England in December following, he never again went to sea. His abilities, however, did not lie dormant, and it would, perhaps, be a difficult matter to decide, whether they had appeared most transcendant in his cha-

racter of a naval officer, or in the civil stations he was, at different times, intrusted to fill. On the 21st of June, 1733, he was appointed first commissioner for executing the office of lord high-admiral; of this post he continued to fulfil the duties with the highest integrity and reputation, till March, 1742, when, on resigning it, he was appointed treasurer of the navy. The latter less fatiguing situation, than that which he before possessed, his advanced age did not long permit him to enjoy, he having died on the 24th of May, 1743, in the 77th year of his age. A monument has been erected to his memory, on the base of which is represented in sculpture, the attack, capture, and destruction of the Spanish galleons in 1708. The inscription on the monument, being a record of the excellencies of this naval commander, and of the rank which he sustained in his Majesty's service, we shall transcribe:

To the memory of
Sir Charles Wager, Knt.
Admiral of the white, first commissioner of the Admiralty,
and privy-counsellor.
A man of great natural talents,
improved by industry, and long experience,
who bore the highest commands,
and passed through the greatest employments
with credit to himself and honour to his country.
He was, in his private life,
humane, temperate, just, and bountiful.
In public stations
valiant, prudent, wise, and honest;
easy of access to all;
steady and resolute in his conduct;
so remarkably happy in his presence of mind,
that no danger ever discomposed him.
Esteemed and favoured by his king,
beloved and honoured by his country,
He died on the 24th of May, 1743, aged 77.

LORD AUBREY BEAUCLERK.

This nobleman was the eighth son of Charles, first duke of St. Alban's. Having entered, while young, into the navy, and passed regularly through the several subordinate stations, he was, on the 1st of April, 1731, promoted to the rank of post captain, and appointed to the Ludlow Castle. In 1739 we find him having the command of the Weymouth, but was immediately afterwards promoted to the Prince Frederic of seventy guns. At the end of the following year he was sent out to reinforce Mr. Vernon preparatory to the expedition against Carthagena. Being ordered, on the 23d of March, with a detachment of five ships to attack Boca Chica, he unfortunately fell in a renewal of the assault on the following day. A very elegant monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, ornamented with arms trophies, and naval ensigns. In an oval niche, is a bust of this promising young nobleman, thus prematurely snatched from life, and the service of his country. On the pedestal is a brief account of the leading transactions of his life. In speaking of the manner of his death it says " As he was giving his command upon deck both his legs were shot off, but such was his magnanimity, that he would not suffer his wounds to be dressed, till he had communicated his orders to his first lieutenant, which were to fight the ship to the last extremity. Soon after this he gave some directions about his private affairs, and then resigned his soul with the dignity of a hero and a christian. Thus was he taken off in the thirty-first year of his age, an illustrious commander of superior fortitude and clemency, amiable in his person, steady in his affections, and equalled by few in the social and domestic virtues of politeness, candour and benevolence.

SIR JOHN BALCHEN.

This brave though unfortunate officer was born on the 2d of February, 1669, and, after entering into the royal navy at a very early age, passed progressively though every rank, till he at last reached the highest in the service. The first particular mention made of the commission he held, was in 1697, when he was about twenty-eight years old; and was then appointed to a small frigate, called the Virgin, but, for ten years after this period, no mention is made of any subsequent commissions which he held, till the year 1707, at which time he was captain of the Chester, a fifty-gun ship. The circumstance which attends this notice was disastrous, for it appears, that, having been ordered, in conjunction with the Ruby, of equal force, to convoy to Lisbon a fleet bound thither, he had the misfortune to be captured by a strong French squadron, under the orders of the Count De Forbin. He not having been exchanged till the conclusion of the ensuing year, the investigation of Captain Balchen's conduct on this occasion, was necessarily deferred: he was, however, most honourably acquitted.

The commands he held after this time, for the space of nine years, are not noticed; but, in the year 1717, he is found to have been captain of the Orford, of seventy guns, one of the fleet ordered into the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Byng; from this time, he continued to be employed till he was promoted to the rank of a flag-officer; but the services which necessarily occur during peace, cannot be expected to abound with incidents sufficient to render the detail of them in any degree interesting. On the 19th of July, 1728, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue, after having continued in the station of a private captain for no less a period than nearly thirty two years. On the 4th of March following, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the white, and

did not take upon himself any command, till the year 1731-2, when he proceeded to Cadiz and the Mediterranean, as second under Sir Charles Wager. On the 16th of February, 1733, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the white, and in the ensuing year, was invested with the command of a squadron collected at Plymouth, and intended to be sent to Lisbon, for the purpose of reinforcing Sir John Norris.

Towards the latter end of the year 1740, Mr. Balchen was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, which it was deemed prudent to keep in a state of equipment, against any emergency, notwithstanding the Spaniards never ventured to fit out any armament for the Atlantic, or to act offensively to the westward of the Straits in Europe, during the whole war. On the 9th of August, 1743, he was promoted to be admiral of the white, and, immediately after Christmas, was most deservedly appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, as successor to Sir John Jennings; the honour of knighthood being also conferred upon him about the same time. In the year 1744, he accepted the command of a fleet, equipped with all possible expedition, for the purpose of relieving the squadron under Sir Charles Hardy, who was at that time blocked up in the Tagus, by a superior force, under the orders of the Count De Rochambault. The force of this armament amounted to twenty-one ships of the line, seven of which belonged to the States of Holland. Sir John Balchen hoisted his flag on this occasion, as commander-in-chief of the whole, on board the Victory, a first rate, of one hundred and ten guns, a ship, universally reputed, at that time, to have been the finest ever built. Her crew, amounting to eleven hundred men, contained a greater proportion of prime seamen, specially selected for the purpose, than had ever been before customary in the British service. There were, moreover, upwards of fifty young gentlemen on board, serving as naval cadets, many of whom belonging to families of

the first distinction in the kingdom, entered as volunteers, being ambitious to enrol themselves, and learn the first rudiments of naval tactics under so worthy, so experienced, and so able a commander.

The fleet sailed from Spithead on the 7th of August, having two hundred merchant-vessels under its convoy. Owing to this incumbrance, and the contrary winds that prevailed, the passage to Lisbon was extremely tedious, the admiral not having arrived off the Tagus till the 9th of September. The French fled at his approach, and took refuge in Cadiz. Sir Charles Hardy being thus freed, immediately put to sea, and having joined the main fleet, proceeded with it to Gibraltar; the reinforcement of which garrison was among the principal objects confided to the direction of Sir John Balchen. The latter service being effected, the fleet, after a cruise off the coast of Portugal, prepared to bend its course back to England, when, having entered the Bay of Biscay on the 30th, it was, three days after, completely dispersed by a violent storm on the 3d of October following. Many of the ships were, with the utmost difficulty, preserved from foundering; they all of them, however, reached England in safety, the Victory excepted. This noble vessel, separating from all her companions, was supposed to have struck on the Caskets, a ridge of rocks near Alderney. The waves thus, in one instant, overwhelmed a most worthy and able commander, with nearly twelve hundred of his brave associates, and destroyed a ship which was justly considered the pride of Britain, and was confessedly the terror of her enemies. The inhabitants of Alderney heard many signals of distress made during the night, but, from the darkness, added to the violence of the tempest, they were totally unable even to attempt affording the sufferers any assistance. The nation was filled with the utmost grief at this dreadful and accumulated misfortune. The merits of the admiral himself, the lamentation of relatives, and the loss of

such a number of brave men, all tended to increase the public anxiety, to a degree that had scarcely been felt, since the loss of the brave Shovel. Sorrow, on such an occasion, is the only tribute which gratitude can pay to deceased merit; and the generous mind finds some relief in bestowing it worthily. On a small, but elegant, monument, erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, is the following epitaph, which, we shall, without hesitation, transcribe; indeed, it would be an injustice to the memory of a great and good man, to omit it. "Sir John Balchen, Knt. admiral of the white squadron of his Majesty's fleet, who, in the year 1744, being sent out commander in-chief of the combined fleets of England and Holland, to cruise on the enemy, was, on his return home, in his Majesty's ship the Victory, lost in the Channel, by a violent storm; from which sad circumstance of his death, we may learn, that neither the greatest skill, judgment, or experience, joined to the most unshaken resolution, can resist the fury of the winds and waves; and we are taught from the passages of his life, which were filled with great and gallant actions, but accompanied with adverse gales of fortune, that the brave, the worthy, and the good man, meets not always his reward in this world. Fifty-eight years of faithful and painful service he had passed, when, being just retired to the government of Greenwich Hospital, to wear out the remainder of his days, he was once more, and for the last time, called out by his king and country, whose interest he ever preferred to his own; and his unwearied zeal for their service ended only with his life, which weighty misfortune to his afflicted family, became heightened by many aggravating circumstances attending it. Yet, amidst their grief, they had the mournful consolation, to find his gracious and royal master mixing his concern with the general lamentations of the public, for the calamitous fate of so zealous, so valiant, and so able a commander, and as a lasting memorial of sin-

cere love and affection borne by his widow, to a most affectionate and worthy husband, this honorary monument was erected by her. He was born February 2d, 1669; married Susannah, the daughter of Colonel Apreece, of Washingly, in the county of Huntingdon: died October 7, 1744, leaving one son and one daughter; the former of whom, George Balchen, survived him but a short time; for, being sent to the West Indies in 1745, commander of his Majesty's ship the Pembroke, he died at Barbadoes, in December the same year, aged 28, having walked in the steps, and imitated the virtues and bravery of his good, but unfortunate father."

SIR JOHN NORRIS.

This gentleman, who was the descendant of a respectable family in the kingdom of Ireland, having received the king's letter at an early age, and passed, with considerable credit, through the stations of midshipman and lieutenant, was, on account of his very meritorious conduct, at the battle off Beachy Head, promoted, in July 1690, to be commander of the Pelican fire-ship. He owed every subsequent advancement entirely to his own merit; and is known to have experienced, in the course of his life and service, many of those checks, to which divers of the bravest, and best men have been oftentimes subjected. In the year 1693, he was captain of the Sheerness, a frigate mounting twenty-eight guns, one of the unfortunate squadron under Sir George Rooke, to whose protection the Smyrna fleet, was in that year confided. Captain Norris acquired, nevertheless, on that occasion, the highest credit; for his diligence, and activity in executing the commands of his admiral, were considered among the most efficient means that lessened the disaster, by preventing many of the merchant-ships from falling into the hands

of the enemy, as in all probability they otherwise would have done. As a reward for his conduct, he was, after his return into England, promoted to the command of the Carlisle, a fourth rate; and, having distinguished himself very highly in the month of January 1694-5, being then in company with, and under the command of Captain James Killegrew, in the attack of two French men of war, the Content and Trident, both of which were captured, after a severe action, was recommended by Mr. Russel to the Admiralty board, to command the Content. In 1696, he was appointed commodore of a small squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, an equal number of frigates, and other smaller vessels ordered to Hudson's Bay, for the recovery of the British settlements in that quarter, which had surrendered a short time before to an armament sent out from France. On his arrival at Newfoundland, he received intelligence that a squadron, consisting of five large French ships, had been seen in the Bay of Conception, and it being specially enjoined him by his instructions, that, in the case of such an event, he should immediately call a council of war, and, as generally proves the case in such species of deliberation, the result completely overturned that success, which, in all probability, would have attended his exertions, had no such meeting taken place. It was a prevailing, and indeed unanimous opinion, that the squadron which had been seen, was a part of one commanded by the Marquis De Nesmond, which was known to be greatly superior to the force under Mr. Norris. The land-officers considered it imprudent that the ships should venture to sea, but insisted they should wait the approach of their antagonists, under the protection of the batteries raised on shore. A few of the naval officers were unhappily of the same opinion, and the question of putting to sea was accordingly carried against Mr. Norris, by a great majority. Mr. Norris himself suggested, that it was probable the

enemy's vessels were not any of those under the orders of the Marquis De Nesmond, but some which had casually put into the bay, for the supply of wood, water, or other refreshments; he accordingly dispatched a frigate to reconnoitre, and received, the truly mortifying intelligence that his own suggestions were true, and that the ships discovered, were those returning to Europe under the command of Mons. Pointis, laden with the plunder of the Spanish West Indies, and which, from the inferiority of their force, would undoubtedly have fallen an easy prey to the British armament. The disappointment, in the capture of Pointis, roused a considerable degree of indignation among the people at home, but it proved of no long duration, particularly in respect to Captain Norris, who, after the proceedings which had taken place under his command had passed the ordeal of parliamentary investigation, was immediately reinstated in the good opinion of all ranks of men.

During the peace, which soon afterwards took place, Captain Norris was employed as captain of the Winchester, first on the Mediterranean, and afterwards on the Newfoundland station. Immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, he was appointed to the Orford, one of the fleet sent on the expedition against Cadiz. On his passage thither, he had the good fortune to make no less than five or six prizes; but, during the continuance of the fleet before that place, he became involved in a dispute, that threatened to terminate his naval life. He was naturally of a very violent temper; extremely irritable, and highly difficult to be appeased. A difference having arisen between Captain Ley, who then commanded the Sovereign, as captain to Sir George Rooke, he was so outrageous as not only to strike, but also to draw his sword on that gentleman. The insult was rendered still more heinous, from the circumstance of its having taken place on the quarter-

deck of Captain Ley's own ship, who was an older officer in the service than Captain Norris. The consequence might have been foreseen; Sir George Rooke felt himself reduced to the necessity of putting the latter under an arrest; but the business was speedily compromised, by the interference of the duke of Ormond, the general in chief; and the whole affair was quickly afterwards terminated by the death of Captain Ley. In the following year, Captain Norris had the good fortune, when on his passage to join the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, destined at that time for the Mediterranean, to fall in with a large privateer, called the Philippeaux, carrying thirty-six carriage guns, together with twelve patereroes. The enemy's ship being bravely commanded, and manned with a chosen crew of two hundred and forty men, did not surrender till after a most obstinate dispute, in the course of which she had fifty of her crew killed or wounded, and the Orford herself received much damage, although trivial when compared with that of her antagonist. The success of Captain Norris by no means ended with this capture; he having in a few days afterwards, made prize of a second armed ship belonging to the enemy, carrying sixteen guns, and one hundred and ten men. When the fleet was on its return from the Straits, in the month of November following, Captain Norris had the additional good fortune to fall in with the Hazard, a French fourth rate, carrying fifty-two guns, and four hundred men, which he compelled to submit, though not till after a very gallant defence on the part of the foe.

In 1704 he acted as one of the seconds to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the battle off Malaga, and his gallantry on that occasion, raised his character higher, than all his preceding services had done. So strongly did it recommend him to the notice of the admiral, by whose side he fought, and who, consequently, was rendered a competent judge of his conduct, that in the ensuing year Captain Norris was selected to command

the Britannia, a first rate, on board which himself and the earl of Peterborough hoisted their flag, as joint commanders-in-chief. His behaviour was so conspicuous in the attack of Fort Montjuic, that King Charles III. wrote a letter to Queen Anne with his own hand, for the express purpose of announcing the esteem he had for this gentleman, and soliciting for him the queen's favour and protection. Being sent home shortly afterwards, as the bearer of the happy news that the city of Barcelona had surrendered, he received the honour of knighthood, and was presented with a purse of one thousand guineas. He is not known ever to have been subsequently employed as a private captain; but, on the 10th of March 1706-7, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and appointed to serve under his former friend and patron, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was once more invested with the Mediterranean command. The admiral in chief, selected him to lead the detachment, employed on the very arduous and important service of forcing the passage of the Var. The ships under his orders on this occasion amounted to four British and one Dutch, all of the line, and a detachment of six hundred chosen men were embarked on board the boats of the fleet, so as to be ready to land, and storm the entrenchments of the enemy, so soon as it should be visible that the fire of the ships had effected any impression. The effect of the cannonade becoming apparent, very soon after its commencement, Sir John was ordered to land, and assault the flank of the lines; this service he performed with so much spirit that the enemy almost instantly gave way, and the passage of the river was effected with a small loss. At the siege of Toulon, which succeeded, his counsel and advice was, on all occasions, sought by the commander in chief, as a person in whose judgment the most implicit confidence might be placed. On his return to England he escaped, though not without the utmost difficulty, the melancholy fate which be-

fel his friend and patron, the admiral in chief. In the year 1708, he was employed under Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, and the only service of moment that he was able to effect in that quarter, was executed by him: this was, the capture near Barcelona, of a numerous fleet of tartans and barks, bound for Peniscola, near the mouth of the Ebro, all laden with provisions for the duke of Anjou's army; of which, through the great activity of this admiral, about sixty-nine fell into the hands of the English. On his return from the Straits, he was, on the 21st of December, promoted to be vice-admiral of the red squadron, and is said to have commanded in the ensuing year, an armament sent into the Baltic. There appears some doubt whether this information is correct, but it is known that in 1710, having been raised to the rank of admiral of the blue, he was sent into the Mediterranean, as commander in chief on that station, where he met with no material opportunity of effecting any service against the enemy, except that of repulsing a descent made by them on the Island of Sardinia. Sir John did not return to England till the month of October 1711, and the peace of Utrecht almost immediately succeeding, a stop was put to his further naval exertions, till after the accession of King George I.

In 1716, the restless temper of Charles XII. of Sweden, and the depredations committed by the privateers of that nation, rendered it highly expedient to the preservation of the British commerce, together with the maintenance of the kingdom's dignity and honour, that an armament should be sent into the Baltic; Sir John was chosen to command it: and, having hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland of eighty guns, he sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, having with him eighteen ships of the line, together with a very numerous fleet of merchant-vessels, which he was ordered to protect on their voyage to the northward. On the arrival of this force in the Sound, on

the 10th of June, Sir John hoped that the very appearance of his ships would strike sufficient terror into the Swedes, to induce their making the satisfaction that was required, without compelling him to have recourse to hostile measures. The prevarication, however, of his opponents, and the evident intentions they displayed of using every possible pretence for the purpose of gaining time, till the season was so far advanced as to prevent their being molested during the current year, compelled the admiral to pursue his ulterior instructions, and join the squadrons of Russia, Denmark, and Holland. That of Russia was commanded by the Czar, well known in Europe by the distinguishing appellation of Peter the Great. In compliment to his dignity, it was agreed that he should have the chief command of the whole; that Sir John, with the English squadron, should lead the van; the Danes the rear; and that the Dutch, joined by five English ships of war, should take the charge of escorting, to their several places of destination, the trade of all the allied powers. This decided conduct produced the continuance of public quietude during the remainder of the year; and, on the approach of winter, Sir John, with the main body of the fleet, returned to England, having adopted the precaution of leaving Commodore Cleland behind him, with a squadron of seven ships of war, and instructions to act in conjunction with the other allied powers, as circumstances might arise. Matters not being accommodated, it was deemed proper to send a fleet into the same quarter the following spring. Sir John was again selected to direct its operations; and to his former character of admiral in chief, was added that of minister plenipotentiary to the Czar Peter. Nothing could possibly have been more agreeable than this appointment to the emperor, who preferred the character of a naval commander to that of the most consummate politician in the universe. From this circumstance might be expected as a natural consequence,

that cordial intercourse to ensue, which never fails to take place between two persons influenced by the same turn of mind. The same system was pursued for the third time in 1718, and was productive of the same effects. The death of Charles at the siege of Fredericshall, in the month of November following, put a period to these northern expeditions, which from long use might be considered an almost annual practice.

In the year 1719, the extraordinary conduct of the court of Spain, and its avowed intentions of making a descent on Great Britain in favour of the Pretender, caused the equipment of two squadrons, which were sent out for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish armament, consisting of five ships of war, having under its protection a fleet of transports filled with stores, troops, and spare arms, together with a million of dollars in specie. The absence of Sir John, however, on this service, was but of short duration, for, in three weeks from the time of his sailing, he received authentic information that the Spanish fleet had been totally dispersed in a violent gale of wind, off Cape Finisterre, and the greater part of the ships had put back, and had, with the utmost difficulty, reached their own ports, on account of the damage they had sustained in the tempestuous weather. Sir John was next selected to check the ambitious project of Peter himself, who wished to add Sweden to his own dominions. The armament on this occasion was more formidable than it had been on either of the preceding occasions, for it consisted of no less than twenty-one ships of the line, with seven frigates, or smaller vessels. The rage of Peter became softened into the reflection that all resistance or opposition would be in vain, though exerted to the utmost of his powers against so formidable an opponent as Britain. The peace signed at Neistadt closed the scene; much to the satisfaction of Sweden, and highly to the honour of the country which had espoused her cause.

From this time, Sir John enjoyed a relaxation from the fatigues of public service; for, except that in the year 1723, when he was appointed to command the squadron which convoyed King George I. from Helvoetsluys to England, he held no command till the year 1727, when the apprehension of an attack meditated on Sweden by the Czarina, rendered the equipment of a fleet absolutely necessary. Its appearance in the Baltic, produced the same instantaneous effect which it always had, on every preceding occasion; and Sweden remained unattacked, because she was protected by Britain. From this time, till the year 1735, Sir John Norris held no naval command; but a dispute having then arisen between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Britain, as her ancient ally, for protection. The command of the fleet fitted out on this occasion was given to Sir John, who had been advanced in the year 1732, to the rank of admiral of the white. His arrival at Lisbon was regarded by the Portuguese as a certain deliverance, and the terror excited by the interference of Britain, produced in a southern clime the same effect which we have seen it did in the north; the storm of war instantly breaking away, the fleet returned, and was dismantled. On this occasion, the British admiral might vie with the Roman general, who is said to have finished a war in seventeen days after he had taken upon him the command. In after ages, many brilliant exploits of the present day may, probably, eclipse in fame those of antiquity, which are now the most celebrated. The conduct of the court of Spain had, for a series of years, been extremely insulting to Great Britain. The depredations committed by the guarda-costas of the former, together with the insults, the injuries, and the barbarities, which they were in the constant habit of exercising towards those who were unfortunate enough to fall in their way, and were not sufficiently powerful to resist their attack, roused at length the

sleeping vengeance of Britain, and the pacific temper of her minister Sir Robert Walpole.

In 1744, France became a partner in political mischief, attached herself to the cause of Spain, and, among other of her customary schemes, to distract the attention of the British councils, projected the invasion of Scotland, in favour of the Pretender. A formidable force was collected at Brest, for this purpose; it consisted of twenty-three ships of war, the chief command of which was bestowed on Monsieur De Rouquefeuille, an officer of eminence and reputation; but though these measures had been concerted with secrecy, the British ministry had the good fortune to procure information of them; and ere it reached the British Channel, a fleet consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, was collected in the Downs under Sir John Norris. This circumstance broke at once all the measures of the enemy; they beheld with astonishment the superiority of their opponents, and at the very instant, when they considered themselves certain of success, found they were obliged to owe their safety to their flight back to their own ports, and regard the winds, the fogs, and the state of the weather unfavourable in all respects, except in that of being propitious to their flight, as the friends which preserved them from destruction. With this last service, the naval life of Sir John Norris ceased. He had been in constant employment for nearly sixty years, so that his age, and his infirmities, rendered his retirement a matter of necessity. This relaxation from fatigue, however, he did not long enjoy, having died in an advanced age on the 19th of July, 1749. In respect to his character, it may be remarked, that although many may have had the good fortune to acquire a greater share of popular applause, none have had a juster claim to public gratitude, than this brave and able commander; or have been more truly entitled to the compassion of those who are capable of feeling the

misfortunes, which rarely failed to attend him through life. Seamen, who are the most superstitious in the world, constantly foretold a storm, whenever Sir John put to sea.

The incidents of war, for the space of forty years, succeeding the battle off Malaga, in 1704, were uninteresting in the scale of grand operation; in such alone are we to look for those achievements which high-sounding fame delights in publishing to the world, and preserving to our memories. These having failed, the voice of envy never ceasing to demand what could not exist, imposes herself on the world, for that candour and justice, which forbid us to bestow honours that have not been truly earned. That courage and spirit of enterprise, which Sir John so frequently and happily displayed, when in the station of a private commander, would have borne him through the most arduous and difficult undertakings, when moving in the most elevated sphere; and no man can doubt, but that the same glory which is so justly attached to the characters of Russel, and Rooke, would have been acquired by Norris, had he been fortunate enough to have experienced the same opportunity. In the less dazzling duties of his profession, which were all that fortune put in his power to exercise, no man could be more assiduous. When commander-in chief in the Baltic, he used every means to procure to his country a complete knowledge of that dangerous and intricate navigation, which was, till his time, much feared, and little understood. For this purpose he took uncommon pains to compile an accurate draught of that sea, by causing all officers under him to make every remark, and observation in their power. This laid the foundation of that more enlarged and general knowledge, which has at length rendered the navigation of it less difficult even than that of the Thames. His abilities as a negotiator were never disputed, because in that line of service he was always most successful. His

temper as a commander, armed with powers either to enforce obedience, or accept submission, were such as claimed the praise, even of those against whom he served; so that among all his enemies, he had at least the satisfaction of knowing there were none who could, with propriety, openly rank themselves under so despicable a banner.

EDWARD VERNON, ESQ.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE.

The subject of the present memoir was the descendant of an ancient family, which had settled in England at the time of the Norman conquest, and obtained landed possessions of considerable extent. Some of his ancestors enjoyed the honours of the peerage, and the name of Vernon frequently appears with approbation in the annals of English history. Our hero was born at Westminster, on the 12th of November, 1684. His father, who was secretary of state to King William and Queen Mary, gave him a good education, intending to qualify him for some civil employment; but the youth was desirous of entering into the sea-service, to which his father at last consented; and he pursued, with surprising application and success, those studies which were connected with his intended line of profession. His first expedition at sea was under Vice-admiral Hopson, when the French fleet and Spanish galleons were destroyed at Vigo. In 1702, he served in an expedition to the West Indies, under Commodore Walker; and, in 1704, on board the fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which convoyed the king of Spain to Lisbon, on which occasion Mr. Vernon had the honour to receive a valuable ring, and a hundred guineas, from that monarch's own hand. He was

also at the battle off Malaga, on the 13th of August, the same year.

Having passed through the subordinate stations of the service necessary to qualify him for the rank of post captain, on the 22d of January, 1706, he was appointed to the command of the Dolphin frigate. In this vessel he was employed on the Mediterranean station under Sir John Leake, who soon afterwards appointed him to the Rye, and sent him to England in the month of August following, with news of the surrender of Alicant. He returned back to the Mediterranean in the same ship, and continued there till the end of the year 1707 under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, but without distinguishing himself in any way so as to be noticed by those who have written on naval history.

In the early part of the year 1708, Captain Vernon was appointed to the Jersey, of forty-eight guns, and sailed for the West Indies, in the month of May, in company with a reinforcement for the squadron under Sir Charles Wager, who then commanded on that station. On his arrival at Jamaica, the Jersey was employed in cruising against the enemy, and Captain Vernon's success was highly honourable to his vigilance and activity. He continued to command the Jersey, and remained in the West Indies till nearly the end of the war. In the month of May, 1711, cruising to windward of Jamaica, he captured a French ship, belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns and one hundred and twenty men; and during the remainder of the summer the Jersey composed one of the squadron under Commodore Littleton, which was employed in watching the movements of the enemy at Carthagena.

The Peace of Utrecht, which happened soon after this period, and gave almost thirty years of repose to Europe, after the tranquillity of half the nations of the civilized world had been, for nearly an equal pe-

riod, disturbed by the profligate ambition of Louis XIV. placed our hero for the greater part of that time in the obscurity of a private situation, so that his biographer has little to record of him, but a few appointments, which serve for no other purpose than to shew the estimation in which his professional abilities and experience were held. In the year 1714, Captain Vernon commanded the Assistance, of fifty guns, one of the fleet sent to the Baltic under Sir John Norris, to assist the Russians against the Swedes; and in 1726 he commanded the Grafton, of seventy guns, one of the armament under Sir Charles Wager, sent to the same quarter, to preserve the peace of the northern states of Europe.

On the accession of King George II. in 1727, Captain Vernon was chosen member of parliament for the borough of Penryn in Cornwall, and soon distinguished himself by his opposition to the pacific administration of Sir Robert Walpole. It has been asserted by some writers, that the happiest æra of the ancient world was from the battle of Actium to the death of Augustus; and in modern times, the same honourable distinction has been awarded to the period when Sir Robert Walpole conducted the affairs of Great Britain. The general effects of his administration were fortunate for the interests of humanity; and during the greater part of the time that he held the reins of power, France was governed by a minister of a similar disposition; but the measures of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, however excellent in their consequences, and after a lapse of so many years, that we can weigh them without being influenced in our judgment by the passions, politics, or interest, of the day, we must pronounce them as some of the soundest efforts of enlightened policy which human ingenuity has ever contrived, were strenuously opposed by men of great political talents and unbounded powers of oratory. But the opposition of Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and their party,

great as the talents of the leaders were, was little more than a struggle for the emoluments of office, exasperated by feelings of personal animosity; while the opposition of Vernon and Shippen, proceeding from very different causes, flowed on both sides from the most honest and disinterested motives, and was invariably directed against the minister, and not against the man.

As a speaker in the House of Commons, Captain Vernon was one of Sir Robert Walpole's most formidable opponents; he had no pretensions, indeed, to what is usually called eloquence, nor much arrangement in his arguments, but he possessed a sufficient command of words, and delivered his opinions with generous warmth and manly freedom. The honour of England he thought endangered by the pacific councils of Sir Robert Walpole, and his opposition was not that of a man educated at the bar or in the senate, of one whose words were uttered according to the scientific rules of disputation, and who with equal facility could espouse either side of a question, but originated in the unbiassed decisions of his own mind. His opinion, which was always forcibly delivered, invariably flowed from a persuasion in his own breast of its rectitude; and this conviction, which was, perhaps, most apparent when his judgment erred, as at such times it assumed a more prominent shape, wrought more on his hearers, than axioms more true, uttered by tongues more eloquent, could have done. Though a warm, and sometimes a diffuse, orator, his meaning was always obvious, he never bewildered the house with metaphysical sophistries, nor descended to hide his meaning by dubious or obscure allusions. He, perhaps, spoke too often for his reputation as a parliamentary debater; for on occasions where neither experience lent her aid, nor the pursuits of his life had been favourable to the acquisition of such kind of knowledge, he appeared in the foremost ranks of opposition. This

does not derogate from his character: what man of moderate intellect, in the inferior walks of life, does not think himself capable of adding something to the knowledge of those whose lives have been spent in the acquisition of a particular science? Captain Vernon possessed in an eminent degree the virtue of frankness, and constantly expressed his sentiments without reserve. Such a character must necessarily have had great weight in a British House of Commons: there are some outlines yet which want to be traced. Though a copious speaker, and one who rarely wanted words on a debate, he never seemed on any subject to have exhausted all that his mind could furnish towards its elucidation; but having said much, and apparently all that could be advanced, he seemed to possess a fund of information superior still to what he had displayed. In debate he was hasty and impetuous, from a constitutional violence of temper, and often let fall unguarded expressions, which in his cooler moments he probably would have been glad to retract. The expedition against Porto-Bello is supposed to have originated in some hasty expressions uttered by Captain Vernon, in the debates relative to the aggressions of the Spanish guarda-costas in the American seas; reproaching administration with the inactivity of their measures, he pledged himself, as we have seen, that he would reduce the town of Porto-Bello with a force not exceeding six ships of the line.

On the 9th of July, 1739, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and appointed commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's ships in the West Indies. The force he had required being collected, he hoisted his flag on board the Burford, of seventy guns, and sailed with his fleet for Jamaica, where he arrived on the 23d of October. Having refitted his squadron with the utmost diligence, the admiral was enabled to sail from Port Royal on the 5th of November; and on the 7th, the squadron

being at sea, the admiral delivered his orders to the commodore and captain, appointing the following dispositions for the attack:

"Upon making the land of Porto Bello, and having a fair wind to favour them, and day-light for the attempt, to have their ships clear in all respects for immediate service; and on the proper signal, to form themselves into a line of battle, as directed; and being formed, to follow in the same order of battle to the attack, in the manner hereafter directed. And as the north shore of the harbour of Porto Bello is represented to the admiral to be a bold steep shore, on which, at the first entrance, stands *Castle de Ferro*, or *Iron Castle*.* Commodore Brown, and the ships that follow him, are directed to pass the said fort within less than a cable's length distance, giving the enemy, as they pass, as warm a fire as possible, both from great guns and musketry; then Commodore Brown is to steer away for the Gloria Castle, and anchor as near as he can to the easternmost part of it, for battering down all the defences of it; but so as to leave room for Captain Mayne, in the Worcester, to anchor astern of him against the westernmost bastion, and to do the same there, and to follow such orders as the commodore may think proper to give him for attacking the said castle. Captain Herbert, in the Norwich, after giving his fire at the Iron Castle, was to push on for the castle of St. Jeronimo, lying to the eastward of the town, and to anchor as near it as he possibly could, and batter it down: and Captain Trevor, in the Stafford, following the admiral, to come to an anchor abreast of the easternmost part of the Iron Castle, so as to leave room for Captain Waterhouse, in the Princess Louisa, to anchor astern of him, for battering the westernmost part of the castle, and continue there until the service is completed, and make themselves masters of it; the youngest officers to follow the further orders of the

* See p. 265.

elder in the further prosecution of the attack; and if the weather was favourable for it on their going in, each ship, besides having its long-boat towing astern, to have its barge alongside to tow the long-boats away, with such part of the soldiers as could conveniently go in them, and to come under the admiral's stern, for his directing a descent with them where he should find it most proper to order it. From the men's inexperience in service, it would be necessary to be as cautious as possible, to prevent hurry and confusion, and a fruitless waste of powder and shot; the captains to give the strictest orders to their respective officers to take the greatest care that no gun was fired but what they, or those they particularly appointed, first saw levelled, and directed the firing of; and that they should strictly prohibit all their men from hallooing and making irregular noise, that would only serve to throw them into confusion, till such time as the service was performed, and when they had nothing to do but glory in the victory. Such of the ships as had mortars and cohorns on board, are ordered to use them in the attack."

On the 20th of November, the squadron came in sight of Porto Bello,* and there being little wind, the admiral, lest he should be driven to the eastward of the harbour, made the signal to anchor, about six leagues from the shore. The next morning the admiral plyed to windward in line of battle; but the wind proving

* Porto Bello is a town lying on the north side of the Isthmus of Darien, which, running in a manner from east to west between the North and South Seas, joins the two vast continents of North and South America. It lies at the bottom of a bay, about a mile deep, and half a mile broad at the entrance. There is a good harbour, about five hundred houses, a treasury, a custom-house, and an exchange. It is famous for its fairs, being the principal mart of Spain in America; for the wealth of Peru and manufactures of Europe annually circulate here. The Spanish galleons discharge their cargoes, and take in the treasure that is brought from Carthagena, Panama, Lima, &c. It was taken by the ever-memorable Sir Francis Drake, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and by Sir Henry Morgan, in 1668.

easterly, he was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Castle only. The Hampton Court, in the van, attacked it with great fury, and was soon seconded by the Norwich and Worcester. The admiral coming up soon after, together with these ships, kept up so severe a fire on the enemy, that the Spaniards deserted their batteries, and fled for security to their ambuscades. This being perceived by the admiral, he made the signal for landing, which was so promptly executed, that in a few minutes the seamen and troops were safely landed, in the front of the enemy's lower battery, with the loss of only two soldiers. As a substitute for scaling ladders, one man set himself close to the wall under an embrasure, whilst another climbed upon his shoulders, and entered under the mouth of a great gun, so that in a very few minutes they were masters of the platform, struck the Spanish flag, and hoisted British colours. The Spaniards in the castle, struck with consternation at the boldness of the assailants, hung out the white flag, and surrendered at discretion. The next day the castles of St. Jeronimo and Gloria capitulated.

The loss sustained by the squadron in killed and wounded did not exceed twenty men, of which three were killed and five wounded on board the admiral's ship. The intelligence of this important conquest, effected with such unprecedented ease and expedition, was received in England with the liveliest emotions of joy. Both houses of Parliament voted their thanks to Admiral Vernon, and the city of London presented him with the freedom of it in a gold box. The name of Vernon excited a degree of enthusiasm unparalleled on any other occasion; medals were struck in honour of him, and his effigy was displayed throughout the whole kingdom. Mr. Rentone, who brought over the dispatches, was immediately raised to the rank of post captain, and received a present of two hundred guineas.

In his conduct towards the vanquished foe, the

admiral was as distinguished for his humanity, as in attacking, for his gallantry. The soldiers and sailors were strictly prohibited from plundering the inhabitants of the town; and to reward their merit, he distributed among them ten thousand dollars, which had been sent to Porto Bello, for the payment of the garrison, a few days before the place fell into the hands of the English. As it was never the intention of government to retain Porto Bello, which, from its unhealthiness, was termed by the Spaniards *the grave of the New World*, the admiral directed the cannon found in the castles and fort to be spiked and destroyed, except forty pieces of brass cannon, ten field pieces, four mortars, and eighteen pattereroes, all of the same metal, which were taken on board the fleet, on account of their intrinsic worth, and as trophies of his victory. The fortifications of the place were then blown up, and completely destroyed, that it might no longer afford an asylum for the guarda-costas, whose chief place of rendezvous it was, and from whence they had, for a series of years, annoyed the British commerce in that quarter, by their incessant depredations. These different services being performed, the admiral sailed from Porto Bello on the 13th of December, and shortly afterwards arrived in safety at Jamaica.

Having refitted his ships, the admiral sailed from Port Royal on the 25th of February, 1740, on an expedition against Carthagena, and on the 1st of March made the highlands of St. Martha, on the Spanish Main, from whence he bore away for Carthagena. On the 3d, in the evening, he anchored with the squadron before the town, in nine fathom water, in the open bay called Playa Grande. On the 6th he began a bombardment, and in three days discharged about three hundred and fifty bombs, which destroyed several edifices, and did considerable damage to the town; but the force he had with him being inadequate to a regular attack of the place, the

admiral bore away with the fleet for Porto Bello. Having repaired his damages, and completed the water of the squadron, the next object of his attack was the Castle of Chagre, situated at the entrance of the river of that name, a few leagues distance from Porto Bello. He arrived in the river Chagre, on the 22d of the month, and after bombarding the castle for two days, it surrendered, and the fortifications were blown up. The plate, merchandise, &c. which were of great value, were taken on board the squadron, and on the 30th the admiral returned to Porto Bello, and from thence to Jamaica, where the fleet lay for some time inactive, being in want of stores and supplies from England.

The easy reduction of Porto Bello had determined administration to send out such a reinforcement to the West Indies, as should enable Admiral Vernon to attack the most formidable settlements of the Spaniards in the New World. A fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a proportionate number of frigates, and a large body of transports, having on board upwards of ten thousand land forces, was accordingly dispatched from England, to join Admiral Vernon. The land forces were commanded by Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of high character, and great experience in military affairs; but, unfortunately for the expectations of his country, he died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, when the command devolved on General Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority, and utterly unqualified for the important post of a commander-in-chief. The armament from England joined Admiral Vernon at Jamaica, on the 9th of January, 1741, and the force under his command now consisted of thirty-one sail of the line. The event of this expedition we have already seen in our general history, and therefore need not repeat the particulars in this place.

Admiral Vernon, disappointed in his hopes, and in a great measure baffled in his designs, wrote to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, earnestly soliciting to be recalled, and requesting, as the only favour he should ask from the crown, that his conduct in the expeditions to Carthagena and Cuba might be strictly and publicly enquired into. He assured the duke that, till such orders arrived, no one should forward every service, for the honour of his king and country, with more care and diligence than he would; "but under his daily prayers for a deliverance from being conjoined to a gentleman, whose opinions he had long experienced to be more changeable than the moon, though he had endeavoured, agreeable to his orders, to maintain the most civil correspondence in his power with General Wentworth."

A reinforcement of two thousand marines, with two ships of fifty guns and a frigate, having arrived from England on the 15th of January, 1742, the admiral once more began to entertain hopes, that he should be able, by some successful enterprise, to obliterate the disgrace of the two former fruitless expeditions. After frequent councils of war, which appear to have been held too often for the good of the service, it was determined to land at Porto Bello, and marching across the Isthmus of Darien, to attack Panama, a rich town situated on the South Sea, which had formerly been taken by Sir Henry Morgan, with five hundred Buccaneers, who marched across the isthmus, and became masters of the town, with little difficulty. Accordingly, the necessary preparations were made for the expedition; and the admiral put to sea about the middle of March, with eight sail of the line, five smaller vessels, and forty transports, having on board three thousand effective men, besides a body of five hundred negroes, raised for the expedition by Mr. Trelawney, the governor of Jamaica, who with several volunteers, accompanied it himself.

The armament arrived at Porto Bello, after a tedious

passage of three weeks, occasioned by tempestuous seas and contrary winds. The governor and garrison of the place immediately quitted the town, and fled to Panama, and the British troops were landed without opposition. The admiral now believed that something decisive would be effected; but, to his great mortification, he learnt that it was resolved, in a general council of war of land officers, to give up the enterprise; and, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, he was obliged to re-embark the troops a very few days after they were landed. The fleet returned again to Jamaica, and nothing of consequence occurred during the subsequent part of the time that Admiral Vernon held the chief command on that station. In the month of September, Captain Fowke, in the Gibraltar, arrived at Port Royal, with orders for the admiral and general to return home; and in December the admiral sailed in the Boyne for England, and was soon after followed by the general and the remainder of the troops.

Before the departure of the admiral from Jamaica, he informed the duke of Newcastle, "that he could not be insensible how great a concern the disappointments on their several expeditions must have been to his Majesty; but begged leave, at the same time, to say, in behalf of himself and the officers and men that had served under his command, that no part of the disappointment was justly to be attributed to the sea forces; nor did he think it was in want of courage or inclination to serve his Majesty, in the land-forces; but that this unhappy event was principally owing to the command falling into the hands of General Wentworth, who had proved himself no ways equal to it. And though the vice-admiral pretended to little experience in military affairs by land, yet it was his opinion, that if the sole command had been in him, both on the Carthagena expedition and on the Cuba one also, that the British forces would have made themselves masters of Carthagena and St. Jago, and with the loss of much fewer men than had

died through the imprudent conduct of General Wentworth, in many instances."

After his arrival in England, our hero continued unemployed till the memorable year 1745, but in the interim was on the 9th of August, 1743, advanced to be vice-admiral of the red. During his retirement, being passed over in a promotion of flag-officers, he wrote an indignant and sarcarstic letter to the secretary of the Admiralty, which is so characteristic of his feelings and temper, that we need not apologize for inserting it below.*

*Sir, *Nacton, June* 30, 1744.

As we that live retired in the country often content ourselves with the information we derive from the newspapers on a market-day, I did not so early observe the advertisement from your office of the 3d of this month, that, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure, the right honourable the lords commissioners of the Admiralty had made the following promotions therein mentioned, in which I could not but perceive there was no mention of my name amongst the flag-officers, though, by letters of the 10th instant, you directed to me as vice-admiral of the red, and, by their lordships' orders, desired my opinion on an affair for his Majesty's service, which I very honestly gave them, as I judged most conducive to his honour, so that their lordships could not be uninformed that I was in the land of the living.

Though the promotions are said to be made by their lordships' orders, yet we all know the communication of his Majesty's pleasure must come from the first lord in commission, from whom principally his Majesty is supposed to receive his information on which his royal orders are founded: and as it is a known maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong, founded, as I apprehend, on the persuasion that the crown never does so but from the misinformation of those, whose respective provinces are, to inform his Majesty of the particular affairs under their care, the first suggestion that naturally occurs to an officer, that has the fullest testimonies in his custody of having happily served his Majesty, in the command he was intrusted with, to his royal approbation, is, that your first commissioner must either have informed his Majesty that I was dead, or have laid something to my charge, rendering me unfit to rise in my rank in the royal navy; of which, being insensible myself, I desire their lordships would be pleased to inform me in what it consists, having both in action and advice, always, to the best of my judgment, endeavoured to serve our royal master with a zeal and activity becoming a faithful and loyal subject, and having hitherto received the public approbation of your board. I

That Admiral Vernon was passed over without promotion, as he here complains of, is rather to be attributed to the parsimonious manner in which promotions were distributed at that time, than to any intentional neglect of the merits of our gallant commander; for almost on the first occasion of danger, we find him called into service, and entrusted with one of the most important appointments, that was ever committed to the care of a British admiral. In the spring of the year 1745, he was promoted to be admiral of the white, and appointed to command a squadron of observation in the North Seas, to watch the equipments of the French at Dunkirk and elsewhere, which evidently were intended for the invasion of Great Britain. The grandson of James II. encouraged by promises of support from the French ministry, and allured by invitations from the disaffected in England and Scotland, determined to make an attempt to recover the crown of his ancestors; and the nation with consternation beheld itself on the point of being invaded by a Popish Pretender, supported in his claims by the French king, the hereditary friend of the house of Stuart, the natural enemy of the freedom, independence, and prosperity of the British em-

confess, at my time of life, a retirement from the hurry of business, to prepare for the general audit, which every Christian ought to have perpetually in his mind, is what cannot but be desirable, and might rather give me occasion to rejoice than any concern, which, I thank God, it does very little; yet, that I might not by any be thought to be one that would decline the public service, I have thought proper to remind their lordships I am living, and have, I thank God, the same honest zeal reigning in my breast that has animated me, on all occasions, to approve myself a faithful and zealous subject and servant to my royal master; and if the first lord commissioner [Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea] has represented me in any other light to my royal master, he has acted with a degeneracy unbecoming the descendant from a noble father, whose memory I reverence and esteem, though I have no compliments to make to the judgment or conduct of the son, &c. &c.

To Thomas Corbett, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty. EDWARD VERNON.

pire. At such a crisis, the voice of the nation demanded, that the ablest commanders should be called into service, and Admiral Vernon's appointment was received with universal approbation.

In the month of August, our hero had his flag flying on board the St. George in Portsmouth harbour, but soon after shifted it to the Norwich, and sailed to the Downs, to watch the French armaments in the opposite ports. "This period of his command," says the accurate author of the Biographia Navalis, "was, perhaps, the most interesting of his whole life; and it is but bare justice to his memory to confess, no man could have been more diligent or more successful in that particular service to which the necessities of his country called him." This is saying much in his praise; but the praise is nevertheless tame. Other commanders might have acted with equal courage and prudence in Vernon's situation, and other commanders have, at various periods of their lives, displayed not only an equal, but perhaps a superior degree of merit; but we should probably find it difficult to name one who was ever placed in a situation of equal importance, or who executed the duties of his station with greater zeal and success. The period may arrive when the British empire shall again be menaced with invasion, when some hostile adventurer* shall attempt to land on her happy shores; but new Vernons will arise to avert the intended blow, and defend their country from the presumptuous insults of an implacable rival.

As a proof that this period of his command was

* Shakespeare, with a prophetic feeling, has described the character that we now see at the head of the French government,

> Like one that stands upon a promontory,
> And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
> Wishing his foot were equal with his eye,
> And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,
> Saying, he'll lade it dry to have his way.
>
> *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

in the highest degree important, we insert below a letter* written at a crisis of the greatest consequence to the welfare of Great Britain.

Towards the latter end of December, the admiral sailed from the Downs on a cruise, having his flag on board the Monmouth, of seventy guns, with three ships of fifty-guns, two of forty, five frigates, and fifteen tenders. About this time, he entered into a dispute with the lords of the Admiralty, the particulars of which will best be gathered from the letters which are in themselves worthy of being preserved, as showing the extreme warmth of the admiral's temper, and his proneness to take fire at the slightest offence.†

* SIR, *Norwich, in the Downs, Dec.* 20.

As from the intelligence I have procured last night, of the enemy's having brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small embarkations, and many of them laden with cannon, field-carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores, the Irish troops being marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais, General Lowendahl, and many other officers, being at Dunkirk, with a young person among them they call the Prince, and was said to be the second son of the Pretender; and as I can't but apprehend, they are preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, and which I suspect may be attempted at Dungeness, where many of my cruisers are in motion for, and I have some thoughts of moving to-morrow with part of my ships, if the weather should prove moderate for a descent, I thought it my duty for his Majesty's service, to advise you of it; and I desire you will communicate this my letter to the mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring towns should have advice for assembling for their common defence; and my cruisers' signals for discovering the approach of an enemy, will be their jack-flag flying at their top-mast head, and firing a gun every half hour, and to desire they will forward the alarm. I am, Sirs,

To John Norris, Esq, at Deal Castle, or to the Mayor of Deal in his absence.

Your humble servant,
E. VERNON.

† EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ADMIRAL VERNON, TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

I could not but be under some surprise, what could be meant by the expression in your letter, of having kept all my great ships in the Downs, and employed only my frigates for gaining intelli-

In consequence of these misunderstandings, as it appears from the last letter, Admiral Vernon was or-

gence, while the enemy's ships have passed backwards and forwards between Ostend, Dunkirk, and Calais, at their leisure, without hindrance or molestation. I cannot conceive where you have picked up such intelligence, so contrary to what is the fact, as my former letters have related to you, to inform their lordships of; *viz.* That amongst other frigates employed on such services, were the Eagle, York, and Carlisle, which have been ever since the 11th of December, acting under my orders only; though your letter, Sir, mentions them as privateers, as if they were acting under their own orders. Within that time, I must repeat it now, five galliot hoys have been taken coming from Havre de Grace to Bologne, and sent into Dover; and of those coming from Dunkirk, going to Calais, a dogger, laden with five pieces of cannon, several field-carriages, 100 barrels of gunpowder, and other military stores, have been set fire to, and seen to blow up in the air by Captain Gregory, who was with them in a cutter on that service; two of their shallop fishing boats sunk, twelve others of them chased on shore, and three with cannon and military stores brought into Dover. A Calais dogger privateer has been taken, of six guns and fifty men, thirty-one of which I have on board the Princess Louisa, and have desired Vice-admiral Martin to give himself the trouble of examining some of them, to try if better information cannot be procured from them, than what Captain Hill has been able to gather from them, which you had inclosed in my yesterday's letters, as you have had of the twelve sail of ships chased from within two leagues of Calais back into Dunkirk road, by the Sapphire and Folkstone, one of which they chased on the shore upon sands, and the pilot would not venture so near as the Captain took upon himself to do. Surely these are instances of the enemy's having been watched much closer than could have been expected in this winter season. And what are the large ships I have kept in the Downs? The Norwich and Ruby, two fifty-gun ships; for, till the arrival of the Monmouth and Falkland, I have had no other. I thank God, by a prudent conduct, the enemy have been prevented from sailing either from Dunkirk or Ostend for this month past, and none of his Majesty's ships have been shipwrecked by any imprudent disposition of them; so that I think I have acted prudently and successfully for his Majesty's service, though, in many of your letters, I have been treated as if I had done neither. As to my reasons for mentioning the counties of Kent and Sussex to be my province, I have some letters of yours that mention it to me as such, in which it appears to me pretty fully expressed. I shall always serve my royal master with a sincere zeal for his service, and with the utmost diligence, resolution, and capacity, that I am capable of; and while my services are approved of, I shall

dered by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty to strike his flag, which accordingly he did, and never

always continue them with pleasure; but if I am judged not to have a capacity for it, as by the style of your letter seems to be insinuated, sure it is the fault of a sincere zeal to say, that if you have thought of any one you judge more proper for it, all that I desire is, that his Majesty may be most effectually served, and I shall with pleasure resign my command to him.

Captain Knowles has brought another letter of yours of the 23d; he is come to serve with me as a volunteer; and as I well know Captain Knowles's zeal and activity for his Majesty's service, his coming gives me a particular pleasure, as I shall be glad to advise with him for his Majesty's service, and at all times ready to furnish him with any opportunity that he can suggest to me, for our royal master's service, and defeating the enemy's intentions for invading his Majesty's dominions. Their lordships will see my orders to Vice-admiral Martin: I have strengthened his command with all the force their Lordships have ordered for watching the enemy's motions from Ostend to Dunkirk; and as to the four ships lately arrived from Cape Breton, which, by their lordships' orders of the 23d, I am to take under my command, those I hope to meet withal in their passage here, and shall incorporate them into my division upon my meeting with them, or detach a part of them to join Vice-admiral Martin, as subsequent intelligence shall make necessary. Nothing either has, or shall be omitted for his Majesty's service, that I can think of, or any one can suggest to me to be most expedient for it; and you have always had copies of the orders I have issued for that purpose, sent for their lordships' approbation. I am, Sir, &c.

Dec. 25th. E. VERNON.

EXTRACT OF A SECOND LETTER TO THE SAME.

This morning, Captain Scot, of the Badger, came on board me with a letter from Vice-admiral Martin; and though the Vice-admiral has, as he says, sent you copies of them, yet, as the advice was sent to me, I choose to do the same.

It could not but give me great pleasure, to find the gentleman's letters from Holland entirely confirm the intelligence I have given their lordships; and to find that he thinks with me likewise, that my diligent exertion of my duty has even been said there to have frustrated their intention of invading this part of the kingdom this last full-moon; of which nothing could give me greater pleasure, than having rendered such effectual service to his Majesty and my country, though I have been treated in that contemptuous manner in your letters. I have given Captain Hill the orders you have enclosed a copy of, for his weighing with the first of the flood, for making a fresh inspection at Calais this evening or to-morrow

afterwards was employed in his Majesty's service. Various reasons have been assigned for the disagreement which subsisted between Admiral Vernon and the board of Admiralty. The faults were probably on the admiral's side. The naval administration of that period was feeble, and weakly conducted, but nevertheless it was the duty of the officers employed to pay implicit obedience to the orders of their superiors, or at least not to treat them with undisguised contempt. Constitutional pride, popular favour, and the self-consciousness of no ordinary degree of merit, had rendered Vernon, naturally of a lofty disposition, arrogant, and unaccommodating; and having been long in opposition, without attaching himself to any party, all administrations were nearly equally offensive to him.

Admiral Vernon was not a man to suffer what he thought injustice, without complaint. His letter to the duke of Bedford, first lord of the Admiralty, will, perhaps, serve to throw some light on the subject of the Admiral's disagreement with that board.*

morning. As soon as the windward tide makes, I shall weigh with the squadron, and keep plying and exercising my ships in line of battle, and for being ready at hand on any advice of the enemy's motions, till I have but barely time for anchoring in the Downs before it is night; when I shall obey their lordships' commands, consign the command of the fleet to Vice-admiral Martin, then strike my flag, and go on shore, pursuant to their lordships' orders. I am, &c.

January 1, 1746. E. VERNON.

* EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ADMIRAL VERNON TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, &c.

As I am conscious I have done nothing ever justly to forfeit that good opinion that engaged your Grace to honour me with your patronage and friendship, I entertain too good an opinion of your Grace to think I have not the continuance of it, notwithstanding the late incident of my being hunted out of my command by the operative malice of some malicious and industrious agent, that is too well screened over for my being able particularly to discover him, and point out who it is; so that must remain to me a secret, till some happy providence, in course of time, may more clearly

Our admiral submitted to his compulsive retirement from the service with the greatest impatience,

discover it; not being, nevertheless, in my own mind doubtful, but I can trace the original cause of it, and guess pretty nearly at who may be the concealed director of it. As the pen of the Secretary of the Admiralty conveyed those bitter shafts that were levelled at me, I thought it right to suggest, that his pen might be tinged with a gall flowing from his own mind, beyond the direction he might receive from it, from which I thought it my duty to acquit him, on a gentleman like apology in regard to his office, which I was no stranger to its being his duty to obey, and on an assurance of a good will he had always professed; and I well know, I had never given him occasion to alter the sentiments of a professed friendship for me.

One of the occasions taken to justify this conduct towards me has been, that I had, within the Channel of England, on a ship's service being immediately wanted for proceeding to sea, and being without a gunner, certainly a necessary officer for her defence, and which I could not think myself justified in permitting to go to sea without, presumed, as it is called, to warrant a gunner to her, for to proceed to sea in her, as I judged it to be absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service and the defence of the ship.

Having now stated the fact, my sentiments are, that to support the necessary command of the officer the king had appointed, it was the government's interest that the commander-in-chief should name all officers that fell vacant, and has not been denied while the depending service was essential; but pretences have been made from the Admiralty, that the ships were not assembled, or not under orders; and as checks are in their power, they have contradicted it, though always to the prejudice of the crown's service; for when the people of the fleet see their commander-in-chief can neither support their pretensions of merit, nor his own authority over them, they must naturally look after those who are no judges of their service, and thus render the commander contemptible to the fleet. This power is known to have been absolute in the commanders-in-chief in the Channel, and in one who has added honours to your Grace's family; (Francis Russel, earl of Orford) and when that power has been wanting, it has, I believe, been always found prejudicial to the service of the crown, and prosperity of the kingdom.

I shall now only add, that I am at present detained here for having my baggage embarked for proceeding to Harwich in one of the armed vessels Vice-admiral Martin has been so obliging to assign me to carry it to my house on the Ipswich river.

I propose at present being in London by Tuesday or Wednesday night; whenever it is, I shall be at your Grace's door the next morning after my arrival, in order to pay my duty to your Grace, and afterwards, before I set out for Norfolk, [illegible] your Grace's

and published pamphlets in vindication of his character. In these he is said to have inserted some private correspondence between himself and the board of Admiralty, the publication of which gave so much offence to his Majesty, that Mr. Vernon, by his especial command, was struck off the list of Admirals. This happened on the 11th of April, 1746, and he was never afterwards restored to his rank. From this period he lived almost totally in retirement, troubling himself but seldom with public affairs, except attending the House of Commons, as Member for the borough of Ipswich. He died suddenly at his seat at Nacton, in Suffolk, on the 30th of October 1757, in the seventy-third year of his age.

His character may be summed up in a few words. He was brave and courageous to an excess; his abilities as a seaman were of the first class; and, as a man, his integrity and honour were unsullied. But his temper was irritable: he had too great a contempt for the talents of others, and was impatient of any species of controul. These faults were considerably increased by the unbounded and almost unexampled popularity which, during the greater part of a long life, he had the happiness to enjoy; and which, though more than half a century has elapsed since his death, still continues to be attached to his name. But with all his faults, his memory will survive and be honoured as long as the naval glory of Great Britain shall form a theme of exultation to her sons.

approbation, to be presented by you to pay my duty to his Majesty. And the favour I now desire of your Grace is, that your porter may have orders from you to let me in, if such a visit be agreeable to your Grace; and if not that I may be told so, not to give unnecessary trouble to you or myself.

E. VERNON.

ADMIRAL CHARLES WATSON.

This brave and excellent officer was, on the 14th of February 1738, appointed captain of the Garland frigate. He remained in this vessel till after 1741, being latterly employed on the Mediterranean station under Mr. Haddock. In 1742 we find him in the same service captain of the Plymouth of sixty guns. He remained in this ship till the departure of Mr. Barnet for England, when he succeeded that gentleman as captain of the Dragon, in which ship he distinguished himself extremely in the encounter with the French and Spanish fleets off Toulon. On his return to England he was removed into the Princess Louisa, a ship of the same rate and force with the two he had last commanded. In 1747 he served as captain of that ship in the two squadrons successively sent out, under the admirals Anson and Hawke, and strongly displayed his usual gallantry in the two encounters with the different French squadrons under De Jonquiere and M. De L'Entendiere.

Under Mr. Hawke he was more particularly fortunate than he had been under Mr. Anson, having, in conjunction with Captain Scott, in the Lion, engaged and stopped the enemy's squadron till the rest of their companions could come up. His services were so highly esteemed by the British ministers, that, on the 16th of May, the preliminaries of peace being then actually signed, he was appointed commander in chief of the squadron employed on the North America station, and was nominated governor and commander in chief of the island of Newfoundland, with the fort and garrison of Placentia, &c. having been previously advanced to be rear-admiral of the blue. Some time before the rupture with France took place,* he was appointed commander in

* In the month of February 1754.

chief of the fleet employed in the East Indies. His first enterprise after his arrival at Bombay, in the month of November 1755, appears to have been the reduction of the fortress of Geriah, the capital of the dominions possessed by the arch-pirate Angria. Mr. James, commander of one of the company's ships, who had just before distinguished himself in the reduction of Severn-droog, was dispatched to reconnoitre the port, and sound the entrance of the harbour. This service he successfully performed; and Mr. Watson, being joined by several ships belonging to the East India Company, having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel, afterwards Lord Clive, sailed on the expedition about the 7th of February.

The admiral was met in the neighbourhood of Geriah by the fleet of the Mahrattas, who were concerned in the expedition as allies. Their land-force amounted to seven or eight thousand men, under the command of Rhamagee Punt, who had not only made himself master of one fort, but was then actually treating for the surrender of Geriah itself. Angria had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law, who commanded in the fort. Mr. Watson immediately sent him a proper summons to surrender, and received a most peremptory refusal, to which was added a declaration, that he would defend the place to the last extremity.

Preparations and the necessary arrangements were immediately made for the attack. The English fleet entered the harbour on the 12th of February in two divisions, sustaining, as they passed, a very heavy cannonade from the batteries of the place, and a number of large grabs moored close under them. Between four and five in the afternoon, a shell falling into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire, and the flames communicating to the rest, the whole fleet was completely destroyed. Between the hours of six and seven in the evening, a shell thrown into

the fort set that on fire also, and the firing ceased for a short interval on both sides.

The admiral suspecting that the governor would prefer surrendering the town up to the Mahrattas rather than the English, requested Mr. Clive to disembark the troops, that he might be ready to take possession of the place. The bombardment of the citadel having recommenced, was continued with the greatest spirit, and the ships were warped in close enough to the walls to batter in breach. After this, the admiral sent an officer with a flag of truce, inviting the governor to surrender. This proposal being still rejected, the English ships renewed their attack on the following day with the utmost vigour. About one o'clock, the principal magazine of the fort blew up, which had such an effect on the spirits of its defenders, that about four, they displayed a white flag as a signal for parley. The terms of surrender could not even yet be agreed on, so that the assault recommenced, and was supported with unremitting ardour till a quarter past five. The white flag was then again hoisted, and the governor thought proper to surrender on such terms as the admiral himself had proposed.

The flag of Angria was immediately struck, and the British colours hoisted in its room. As a proof that the admiral's precaution in desiring Colonel Clive to land with the troops was necessary, the Mahratta chiefs tampered with the British captains who commanded, offering them a bribe of fifty thousand rupees if they would permit them to take possession of the fort. This proposal was rejected with disdain. In the fort were found upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, a considerable quantity of ammunition, together with effects and specie to the amount of 130,000*l*. The fleet destroyed consisted of eight grabs, one ship, together with two on the stocks, and a number of gallivats, a species of vessel used in those seas, and peculiarly

adapted to that piratical kind of war in which their owner had been engaged.

Among the prisoners were found Angria's wife, children, and mother; and, on entering their apartment, the whole family, shedding tears, fell with their faces to the ground; from which being raised, the mother told Mr. Watson, in a piteous tone, "The people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father." The admiral replying, "they must look upon him as their father and friend," the youngest boy seized him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, "Then you shall be my father." Mr. Watson was so affected with this address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend upon his protection and friendship.

Six hundred European and native soldiers were left to garrison the fort; and four armed vessels belonging to the East India Company remained in the harbour, which was extremely well situated for commerce, as an additional protection.

Vice-admiral Watson immediately returned in triumph to Bombay; and having refitted his ships, sailed on the 30th of April for fort St. David's, where he arrived on the 29th of May. After a stay of three weeks, he proceeded to Madras, which he reached on the 20th of June. He there received the melancholy news of the capture of Calcutta, and of the tragedy that had been acted there under the tyranny of the Sur Rajah Dowla. He immediately began to concert measures for the recovery of that important place, as well to revenge the foul murders that had been committed on that melancholy occasion. When all things were settled, Mr. Clive with his little army embarked, the vice-admiral sailing from Madras on the 6th of October, on the 5th of December came to an anchor in Balasore road on the Bengal coast. On the 28th he proceeded up to Calcutta with the Kent, Tiger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and Kingsfisher sloop. On

the following day Colonel Clive, with a small body of troops, was put on shore to invest the fort of Busbudgia, which did not hold out above an hour after the fire commenced. All the other forts and batteries were progressively abandoned by the enemy as the ships advanced up the river; and on the 1st or 2d day of January, 1757, Mr. Watson, with the Kent and Tiger, came to an anchor off the town at Calcutta. After a smart cannonade of two hours, the enemies' batteries were completely silenced, and the men driven from the guns, so that the different defences and the place itself were taken possession of by Captain Coote and a detachment from the army. In the fort were found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, together with every requisite necessary for sustaining a long and obstinate siege. Thus were the English re-established in two of the strongest fortresses on the Ganges, with the loss of only nine seamen and three soldiers killed.

The reduction of the city of Hughly, situate a considerable distance higher up the river, was immediately undertaken, and effected with less difficulty than the hopes of the most sanguine had prognosticated. The principal storehouses of salt, together with the granaries, for the support of the Nabob's army, were situate at this place, so that not only the loss to him was immense, but it was rendered still more considerable and grievous as it was the depôt from whence he derived the means of carrying on the war. The viceroy of Bengal was so enraged at this unexpected success, that he rejected all proposals made by the vice-admiral and Colonel Clive for an accommodation. He accordingly assembled an army consisting of fifteen thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, announcing a firm resolution to expel the English out of his dominions, and take vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained.

On the 2d of February he arrived in sight of the

British camp, and established himself within a mile of Calcutta. Mr. Watson instantly formed a detachment of six hundred seamen from the squadron, which were put under the command of Captain Warwick, and sent to support the colonel and his army. He advanced on receiving this reinforcement, and attacked the viceroy with so much vigour that he retreated with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, together with an immense number of horses, bullocks, and some elephants. A peremptory letter written by the vice-admiral after this success, induced the viceroy to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed. A peace was soon afterwards agreed on and concluded; but the vice-admiral had too much discernment to rely on the faith of a man who had so frequently broken his word, he accordingly took all measures to restore the affairs of the British East India Company, and reduce that of France, as no safety could be depended on while the smallest influence of the latter existed.

To complete fully the purpose by which this end was to be produced, the vice-admiral as soon as he had accomplished the recovery of Calcutta, projected an expedition against the important French settlement of Chandernagore. It was situated on the Ganges, some distance above the town of Calcutta, and was the chief settlement possessed by that nation, in the Bay of Bengal. Colonel Clive, who commanded the land forces, marched by land at the head of two thousand men, seven hundred of whom were Europeans. On the 18th of March, Vice-admiral Watson, with Mr. Pocock as his second in command, got within two miles of the French settlement with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury ships of war. They found their farther passage obstructed by a boom laid across the river, and by several vessels sunk in the channel. But these difficulties were quickly removed, and the little squadron advancing on the 29th, drew up in a line before the fort, which was

cannonaded with the greatest fury for three hours. An attack, equally spirited, was commenced at the same time from the land-side by Colonel Clive, and their united efforts compelled the enemy to hoist a flag of truce and propose to surrender. The town was immediately delivered up to Captain Latham, of the Tiger; its reduction being accomplished with the loss of forty persons only, killed and wounded, on the part of the British, notwithstanding the garrison consisted of nearly seventeen hundred men, five hundred of whom were Europeans. The fortifications were in good condition, having one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on them; the place was abundantly supplied with provisions for the support of its defenders, and ammunition for their defence. This fortress being the last possessed by the French in that part of the world, the Nabob was compelled, very reluctantly, to comply with the terms of the treaty which he had before entered into with Mr. Watson and Colonel Clive. He did this, however, in so dilatory a manner, and discovered so manifest a partiality to the French, that it was discernible he only waited for a junction with a body of their European troops, under M. De Bussy, to come to a second rupture.

This treacherous conduct on his part led to one of the most memorable events in the annals of Bengal; we mean the battle of Plassey, and the deposition of the Nabob; the particulars which immediately preceded it, as well as those subsequent to it, are related in an official letter from the vice-admiral, dated on board the Kent, off Calcutta, July the 16th, 1757, which will be found below.*

* LETTER FROM VICE-ADMIRAL WATSON.

"By Captain Toby, of the Kingfisher sloop, I informed you, in a letter dated the 14th of April, of the surrender of the town and port of Chandernagore; and, in the same letter, I took notice of the great reluctance which the Nabob Sur Rajah Dowla

The vice-admiral did not long survive this brilliant achievement, dying on the 16th of August, at

shewed in complying with the articles of the peace, on which subject many letters passed between us; in most of them he never failed to be very liberal in his promises, but that was all that could be obtained from him. These delays, to the final execution of the peace, were in effect the same to the commerce of the kingdom, as much as if none had been concluded. The leading men at the Nabob's court knowing his faithless disposition, and perceiving no probability of an established peace in their country while he continued in the government, began to murmur, and entered into a confederacy to divest him of it; among these were Jaffier Ally Cawn, who was one of his principal generals, and held several other considerable employments; but he, having been greatly disgusted at the Nabob's repeated ill treatment, became very zealous in the confederacy against him, and communicated the design to Mr. Watts, the second in council of this place. By the letters of the 26th and 28th of April, the committee was informed of this affair, which was debated with all the attention and circumspection possible. On maturely examining into the behaviour of the Nabob, he appeared so far from complying with the articles of the peace he had solemnly sworn to observe, that he would not permit us to put a garrison into Cossimbuzar; and had given strict orders not to suffer even a pound of powder or ball to pass up the river. These measures, added to the certain accounts we received of his having invited M. Bussey, the French commanding-officer in the province of Golconda, to join him with all the troops he could bring, gave us very little reason to believe he had any intention to continue even on peaceable terms with us, longer than he thought himself unable to engage in a war against us: it was, therefore, judged most advisable to join Jaffier Ally Cawn with our troops, such a step appearing the most effectual way of establishing a peace in the country, and settling the English on a good and solid foundation. This being resolved on, and the articles hereafter recited, agreed to, our army marched on the 13th of last month from Chandernagore towards Cossimbuzar; and, in order that Colonel Clive should have as many Europeans with him as possible, I agreed to garrison Chandernagore, and to send up with him on the expedition, a lieutenant, seven midshipmen, and fifty seamen, to serve as gunners. I also ordered the twenty-gun ship to anchor above Hughley, to keep the communication open with the Colonel.

"On the 19th of June, Cutwa fort and town, situated on this side of the river, which forms the island of Cossimbuzar, were taken by a party detached for that purpose. There the army remained two or three days for intelligence from Jaffier Ally Cawn,

Calcutta, of a fever, contracted, as is generally believed, in consequence of the fatigue he had under-

who, it was agreed by all in the confederacy, should succeed to the Nabobship, he being a man of family, and held in great esteem by all ranks of people. On the 22d the army crossed the river, and the next day had a decisive battle with Sur Rajah Dowla, over whom our troops obtained a complete victory, put his army to flight, and took possession of his camp, with upwards of fifty pieces of cannon and all his baggage. He was joined by fifty French soldiers, who worked his artillery; and, by the most authentic accounts, his army consisted of about twenty thousand fighting men, exclusive of those under the command of Jaffier Ally Cawn and Roy Dowlub, who did not act against us. The number killed in the enemy's camp were few, as they only stood a cannonading. We had about nineteen Europeans killed and wounded, and thirty seapoys.

"Sur Rajah Dowla, after his defeat, withdrew privately; as did Montoll, his prime minister; and Monick Chaund, one of his generals.

"On the 26th of June, Jaffier Ally Cawn entered the city of Muxadavad; and, by a letter from the colonel, of the 30th, we were informed of his having placed Jaffier Ally Cawn in the ancient seat of the Nabobs of this province, and that the usual homage had been paid him by all ranks of people, as subah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa.

"On the 30th, late at night, a letter came from the Colonel, advising that Sur Rajah Dowla was taken prisoner; and, on the 4th inst. he acquainted the committee of the Nabob's having been put privately to death by Jaffier Ally Cawn's son, and his party. The specie in the treasury, upon examination, was found very short of expectation; however, the colonel has already sent down one third of the sum stipulated in agreement, and it is said as much more will soon follow as will make up half; the other half is to be paid in three years, at three annual and equal payments.

"Mr. Law, who was the French chief at Cossimbuzar, and who had collected near two hundred French European troops, was coming to the assistance of the late Nabob, and was within a few hours march of him when he was taken prisoner, which Mr. Law hearing of he advanced no farther. Soon after, the colonel detached a party in search of Law, under the command of Captain Coote of Colonel Adlercron's regiment, consisting of two hundred Europeans and five of seapoys, joined by two thousand of Jaffier Ally Cawn's horse. We cannot yet expect to hear any thing of the event of this detachment's being sent out, as it is uncertain how far Captain Coote may be led after the French party.

gone, rendered still more oppressive by the unwholesomeness of the climate. He was buried on the fol-

" A few days ago the Marlborough Indiaman arrived here from Vizagapatam, with an account of the surrender of that settlement to the French on the 26th of June. The garrison consisted of one hundred and thirty Europeans with two hundred seapoys: and the French sat down before it with eight hundred and fifty Europeans, six thousand seapoys, and a small body of horse.

" A translation of the treaty executed by Jaffier Ally Cawn Bahadar, in his own hand.

" In the presence of God and his prophet, I swear to abide by the terms of this agreement while I have life,

Meer
Mahmud Jaffier
Cawn Bahadar
the Slave of
Allum Geer
Mogul.

1. The agreement and treaty with Nabob Sur Rajud Dowla I agree to and admit of.

2. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether Europeans or others.

3. Whatever goods and factories belong to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, shall be delivered the English, and the French never permitted to have factories or settlements any more in these provinces.

4. To indemnify the company for their losses, by the capture of Calcutta, and the charges they have been at to repossess their factories, I will give one crore of rupees.

5. To indemnify the English inhabitants, who suffered by the capture of Calcutta, I will give fifty lacks of rupees.

6. To indemnify the losses suffered by Jentoors, Moormen, &c. I will give twenty lacks of rupees.

7. To the inhabitants, the Armenian peons of Calcutta, who suffered by the capture, I will give seven lacks of rupees.

The division of these donations to be left to the admiral, the colonel, and committee.

8. The lands within the Moratta ditch all round Calcutta, which are now possessed by other Zemindars, and six hundred yards all round without the ditch, I will give up entirely to the company.

9. The Zemindary of the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpee, shall be in the hands of the English company, and under their government and orders, the customary rents of every district within that tract to be paid by the English into the king's treasury.

lowing day, his corps being attended to the grave by all the principal inhabitants of the place, who appeared as if attempting to out-vie each other in the liveliest demonstrations of sorrow for the loss of a man whom they revered as a deliverer and a parent. As the last token of gratitude they were capable of paying him, an handsome monument was erected there to his memory. On the 22d of March 1760, his son was created a baronet, as a proof of the high opinion entertained by the sovereign himself of the father's merits: and a very superb monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, at the expence of the East India company.

In the centre of a range of palm-trees is placed a figure of the admiral receiving the address of a prostrate figure, representing the Genius of Calcutta. On one side is the figure, in chains, of Chandernagore, the other fortress taken by the admiral the March following. In front of the monument is the following inscription:

To the memory of CHARLES WATSON,
Vice-admiral of the white, commander-in-chief
Of his Majesty's naval forces in the East Indies,
Who died at Calcutta the 16th of August 1757.
The East India Company,
As a grateful testimony of the signal advantages which
they obtained by his valour and conduct,
Caused this monument to be erected.

10. Whenever I send for the assistance of the English troops, their pay and charges shall be disbursed by me.

11. From Hughley downwards I will build no new forts near the river.

12. As soon as I am established Subah of the three provinces I will immediately perform the above-mentioned articles.

Dated the 15th of the Moon Rumzaun, in the fourth year of the present reign.

"The new Nabob gave to the squadron and troops fifty lacks of rupees, besides the sums stipulated by the treaty for other services.

"One crore is an hundred lacks, and one lack is about £2,500*l.*

TEMPLE WEST, ESQ.

Was, on the 13th of June 1738, promoted to be captain of the Deal Castle frigate. He was at this time not more than twenty-four years old; and his having attained that rank at so early an age is no slender proof both of his diligent attention to the duties of his station and his general ability in having so soon acquired a competent and perfect knowledge of them. He continued captain of the Deal Castle till the beginning of the year 1741, when he was appointed to the Sapphire, and in May was promoted to the Dartmouth of fifty guns, one of the ships afterwards employed, on the Mediterranean station, under Mr. Haddock. He was afterwards advanced to the Warwick, of sixty guns, which ship he continued to command, till after the encounter with the French and Spanish fleets off Toulon. The Warwick was the second ship in the division of Rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van of the British line. That of the enemy, commanded by Commodore Gabaret, attempted to weather the headmost of the British line, and thus inclose them between two fires: but the Captains Cooper, West, and Lloyd penetrated into this design, and counteracted the attempt, for a considerable time, with success.

The prudence of this conduct was very apparent, Mr. Rowley having been obliged to tack in order to rejoin the centre as soon as M. De Gabaret succeeded in his manœuvre. Nevertheless, Mr. West, and his companions having acted entirely from their own opinion, without orders from Mr. Rowley, or the commander-in-chief, were all brought to a court-martial and sentenced to be dismissed the service. But though strict discipline compelled this apparent disgrace and punishment, their conduct was thought not

only so little culpable, but even so praise-worthy, that they were all soon afterwards restored with honour to the service.

In 1747 Mr. West commanded the Devonshire, of sixty-six guns, under Rear-admiral Warren, and behaving with the greatest gallantry in the action with the French squadron under Monsieur De Jonquiere, of course acquired the greatest reputation. In 1753, according to Mr. Hardy, but from other accounts in 1755, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red, and appointed to command one of the small squadrons stationed in the Bay of Biscay. In the following year, he hoisted his flag on board the Buckingham, of seventy guns, and was sent second in command of the squadron ordered to the Mediterranean under the unfortunate Mr. Byng. The different operations which took place during that unhappy expedition have been already related, but Mr. West, though connected in the service, was not equally so in the disgrace which attended it. His gallantry in the skirmish, for the encounter scarcely deserved the name of an action, was applauded both by the friends and enemies of the commander-in-chief. Acting in a subordinate capacity, Mr. West was not in any degree accountable for those acts of misconduct which belonged only to the principal or chief-in-command. He however underwent an arrest at the same time with Mr. Byng, and was sent home prisoner with him on board the Antelope; but their reception both from the sovereign and the people, was very widely different. That of Mr. Byng has been already noticed, but Mr. West was received by his countrymen as an hero, and by the sovereign as a favourite, insomuch that, on the 20th of November 1756, he was not only included in the new commission for executing the office of lord high admiral, but was immediately afterwards appointed to command in-chief a squadron destined for a secret expedition.

He had, however, too much honour to serve under

men whom he very justly considered as enemies taking an undue advantage of his unfortunate superior in command, and though he was conceived to have been the most material evidence against Mr. Byng, yet, on the very day sentence was passed on him, notwithstanding he had actually accepted the command, was at that time one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and had actually hoisted his flag on board the Magnanime, he declined proceeding on the service for the reasons stated by him in the letter below.*

* MR. WEST'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"*Magnanime*, 27 *Jan.* 1757.

"SIR,

"Without entering into the merit of Admiral Byng's behaviour, or deciding at all upon it, one way or other, the sentence passed this day upon him, the substance of which I have seen, makes it impossible for me to help declining the very honourable and distinguished command their lordships have been pleased to appoint me to; I must therefore beseech and intreat them to confer it on some person more worthy, since I can only be answerable for my loyalty and fidelity to my king, and resolution of doing what appears to me for his service, which it seems an officer may not want, and yet be capitally convicted for his misconduct or inability of judging right. I am not so presumptuous as to imagine that my actions can always be so rightly governed, nor am I altogether certain that the judgment of others is infallible; and, as in some cases, the consequences may be fatal, I must therefore repeat again my most earnest request, that their lordships will be pleased to appoint some other person to my command, and grant me their lordships' permission to come to town."

By the same conveyance he sent the following letter to Earl Temple:

"*Magnanime*, *Jan.* 27, 1757.

"My Lord,

"However honourable, or however advantageous the situation I am placed in may be, yet I am determined and fully resolved to forego any thing rather than serve on terms which subject an officer to the treatment shewn Admiral Byng, whom the court-martial have convicted, not of cowardice, nor of treachery, but of misconduct, an offence never, till now, thought capital; and now

When it was decidedly resolved to abandon the unfortunate admiral to the sentence which had been passed on him, Mr. West, with Admiral Forbes, resigned his station as commissioner of the Admiralty, but resumed it again on the 2d of July following. He held it, however, but for a short space of time, dying on the 9th of August following. It was reported, that the unhappy fate of Mr. Byng threw him into a fixt and settled melancholy, the paroxysms of which became at last so violent as to cause his death.

An elegant monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, by his lady, who survived him; and we have the following short, and we believe very just character of him.

" In the earlier part of his life he dedicated his time to the naval service of his country, in which, by his courage and integrity, he was advanced, at a very early age, to be vice-admiral of the white. He was sagacious, active, and industrious: as a seaman he was skilful; as an officer cool, intrepid, and re-

it seems only made so, because no alternative of punishment was found in the article they bring him under. Strange reasoning—to *acquit* him of the two points *cowardice* and *disaffection*, to which that article can *only* have respect.—Since, though *negligence* is mentioned, yet can it be only intended to refer to one or other of those two crimes, *negligence* PROCEEDING from *disaffection or cowardice*. I well remember this was the opinion of the House of Commons when the bill was before them, for which reason no alternative was left in that article, as otherwise there would have been.—Courts-martial I have always understood to be courts of honour and conscience; and therefore why gentlemen should think themselves tied by the letter, to act against their opinion, I know not; but enough of that at present. I shall only make one observation more in regard to that part of their sentence, wherein he is said *not to have done his utmost to relieve St. Philip's castle*, without pointing out which way it could have been relieved by him, which indeed they would have found difficult enough to have done.

" As I have taken my firm and final resolution to resign the command, and have written very strongly on that head to the board, I must intreat your lordship to facilitate it, and I am

" Yours, &c."

solute. His conduct in the encounter with the French fleet off Mahon, where he commanded in the second post, was remarkably spirited. His distinguished courage and animating example were admired by the whole British squadron, and confessed by France. He was very justly rewarded with the warmest applauses of his countrymen, and approbation of his sovereign. Soon after his return he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and adorned his station by a modesty which concealed from him his own merit, and a candour which disposed him to reward that of others. To the frank and generous spirit of an officer he added the ease and politeness of a gentleman: and, with the moral and social virtues of a good man, exercised the duties of a Christian. He died in the year 1757, aged 43."

SIR PETER WARREN.

This brave officer, the descendant of an ancient and respectable family in Ireland, was born about the year 1703. He entered the navy at an early period of life, and having passed through the regular gradations of rank, he was appointed, in 1727, post-captain of the Grafton, one of the four ships of the line which were sent out under Sir George Walton, to join Sir Charles Wager in the Mediterranean. He did not long continue in this ship, being removed into the Solebay frigate, for the purpose of carrying out to the West Indies the king of Spain's orders for executing there the preliminaries of peace, agreed upon on his Majesty's part. He proceeded on this service on the 5th of May, and, having executed his commission, as far as related to the West Indies, sailed, in compliance with his instructions to Carolina.

Captain Warren returned to England in 1729, and immediately on his arrival, was appointed to the Leopard, of fifty guns. In this year, the Spaniards, not having conformed to the articles of the treaty, which had been agreed on, a fleet of twenty sail of the line, and five frigates was ordered to be got ready; and, on the 30th of June, it assembled at Spithead, where it was joined by a squadron of Dutch ships, under the command of Rear-admiral the Baron De Sommeldyke. The court of Spain, alarmed at the assemblage of so strong a naval force, was induced to agree to terms proposed for a general pacification. The fleet remained three months at Spithead, when the Dutch returned home, and twelve sail of the line were ordered to be paid off. The Leopard, however, with the remainder of the fleet, continued at Spithead, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, during the two succeeding years.

In 1742, he commanded the Launceston, of forty guns; but the only memorable mention we find made of him is, his having captured the Peregrina privateer, mounting fourteen carriage, and four swivel guns, in company with Captain Edward Aylmer, of the Port Mahon. He was sometime afterwards promoted to the Superbe, of sixty guns; and being ordered to the West Indies, was left, by Sir Chaloner Ogle, commodore of a small squadron, on the Antigua station. He very much distinguished himself by his extraordinary exertions while employed in this service, and having taken a station off Martinique, his squadron captured between the 12th of February, and the 24th of June, 1744, twenty-four valuable prizes; carrying two hundred and two guns, eight hundred and thirty-two men, and amounting in burthen to four thousand three hundred and thirty-two tons. One of the prizes was a register-ship, taken by the Woolwich, valued at two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In 1745, a project was formed in the general as-

sembly at Massachusett, in New England, to surprise the city of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that island. Government, having been well informed of the importance of the enterprise, Commodore Warren was ordered to quit his station, at the Leeward Islands, and to join the American expedition. The naval force of Mr. Warren consisted, of the Superbe, the Launceston, and Eltham, of forty guns each, which were, soon after his arrival on the coast, joined by the Mermaid, of the same force. He arrived at Canso, in Nova Scotia, on the 25th of April, and found the troops encamped, they having reached the place of rendezvous, upwards of three weeks before, under convoy of ten private armed vessels. On the 29th, the troops re-embarked, and the whole of the armament came to an anchor in Gabarus Bay, about a league distant from Louisbourg, on the 30th. Nothing could exceed the consternation into which the inhabitants and garrison were thrown, by this very unexpected visit. The governor feebly endeavoured to prevent the landing of the troops, by sending out a detachment of one hundred men for that purpose; but the spirit with which the invaders attacked them, compelled them to retire, almost without a blow. The debarkation was effected without loss, and the city formally invested on the land side. While the troops were successfully employed on both sides of the harbour on shore, Commodore Warren was equally vigilant and fortunate in his own proper element. He so securely blocked up the mouth of the harbour, that during the whole continuance of the siege, only one vessel got in to the relief of the city, and even that effected her passage with the greatest difficulty. The commodore, who paid the utmost attention to providing a proper convoy for their protection, was joined by seven transports, having on board military stores, and six months provisions, for the land-forces, which, on the 17th of

May, arrived in Gabarus Bay, from Boston. The British fleet was afterwards reinforced by the Canterbury, and Sunderland, of sixty guns each, and by the Chester, of fifty guns. These were so properly stationed, that on the 20th of May, two French ships, and a snow, were taken, and sent into Gabarus Bay. In the mean time the commodore, with the Mermaid, commanded by Captain Douglas, and the Shirley galley, Captain Rous, went out in chace of a large ship, which proved to be the Vigilante, a new French man of war, of sixty-four guns, and five hundred and sixty men, commanded by the Marquis De Fort Maison, which was taken on the 21st, after the loss of sixty French and five English. The Vigilante was laden with stores, a great number of heavy cannon, and a thousand half-barrels of gunpowder for the city of Louisbourg; independently of articles for the equipment of a seventy-gun ship then building in Canada. Her whole cargo was valued at sixty thousand pounds. On the same day, the commodore took a large brigantine from France, laden with brandy and stores. By these fortunate acquisitions, the French were deprived of all their expected succour by sea, and the city was reduced to the utmost necessity.

On the 14th of June, every thing was prepared for a general assault, both by land and water; but, on the 15th, at four P. M. a flag of truce came to the British camp, with proposals from the governor to surrender the city; Commodore Warren and General Pepperel directed the bearer to attend on the following morning, at eight o'clock, for their determination. At the appointed hour the flag of truce attended, and carried back the terms of capitulation, which were proposed by Commodore Warren and the general. Under these terms, which were agreed to by Monsieur Chambon, the governor of Louisbourg, the French were permitted to enjoy all their personal effects, and to be conveyed to France at the expence

of the besiegers. The French flag was struck on the 17th, and the British flag was hoisted in its place, at the island battery, of which the besiegers took possession early in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Warren, with all the men of war, privateers, store-ships, and transports, made a fine appearance on their entrance into Louisbourg harbour; and when all were safely moored, they fired a grand *feu de joie* on the occasion. On the 4th of July, the garrison, and a great number of the inhabitants, were embarked on board fourteen cartel ships, which were convoyed by the Launceston man of war, to Rochefort. In this manner, after a continued siege of forty-seven days, the British forces caused the reduction of the city of Louisbourg, and the subjection of the whole island of Cape Breton, to his Britannic Majesty. As soon as the news of the success reached England, Mr. Warren, to whose gallant exertions so much praise was due, was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron, his commission bearing date August the 8th, 1745.

After his return to England, he appears to have enjoyed a short repose from the fatigue of public business, during the ensuing year; in the course of which he was, nevertheless, on the 14th of July, advanced to be rear-admiral of the white. In the beginning of the year 1747, he was appointed second in command of the squadron sent out under Mr. Anson and himself, for the purpose of intercepting the united French squadrons bound to America and the East Indies, which were reported to be on the point of sailing from Brest. The latter of these armaments was reserved for a future victory; that bound to America under the command of Monsieur De Jonquiere, being the only one that put to sea. Its destination was, the re-conquest of Louisbourg, so that its discomfiture and capture must, on that ground, have been particularly grateful to Mr. Warren. The operations of the British armament have been already

related, in general terms, in the account of Mr. Anson; suffice it therefore to say, on the present occasion, that Mr. Warren had, happily, an opportunity of signalizing himself very remarkably in the course of the action alluded to. The circumstance we particularly refer to is not generally known, but, in justice to the memory of Rear-admiral Warren, cannot be made too public. When the French fleet, amounting in the whole to thirty-eight sail, was first discovered, Mr. Anson, the commander-in-chief, who was in the rear, made the signal for the ships under his command to form the line of battle; but Mr. Warren, who was in the van, judiciously observing, that considerable time would be lost by pursuing this measure; consequently affected to take no notice of Mr. Anson's signal, but in defiance of all the rules and regulations of the service, made that for a general chace, setting his top-gallant sails at the same instant. Mr. Anson saw the propriety of Mr. Warren's measures, and, instead of enforcing his own, repeated Mr. Warren's signal: the result was, that the headmost ship soon closed with the enemy, and brought them to action; while, on the other hand, had the cold nautically pedantic method of pursuit in a regular line of battle been adopted, it is highly probable the greater part, if not the whole of the French force, would have made their escape.

The conduct of Mr. Warren, on this occasion, was entitled to the greater praise, because, by acting in the manner he did, he endangered not only his reputation, but his life. If Mr. Anson had been petulant, and had adhered strictly to the pursuit of his own first intentions, he might not only have subjected Mr. Warren to the heaviest censure, for the disobedience of his orders, but it is impossible to say to what extent the sentence of a court-martial might have reached, had the failure been attributed to it might have been, to the non compliance of Mr. Warren with the orders of his commander in

this circumstance, Mr. West, his captain, was perfectly aware, and entreated him, almost with tears in his eyes, not to incur so dreadful a risk. Mr. Warren spiritedly replied: "Sir, I am obliged to you for your advice, but if I obey the signal that is just made, the enemy will get off; I am determined if they do, nothing shall lie on my conscience, as not having done the utmost in my power to prevent them;—make the signal, and loose the top-gallant-sails." The Devonshire, of sixty-six guns, on board which ship he had hoisted his flag, got up with Monsieur De Jonquiere himself, on board the Serieux; and, after receiving his fire, which was well directed, closed, within pistol shot, and continued to engage till the Serieux struck. Mr. Warren, having silenced this antagonist, proceeded to attack the Invincible, commanded by the Commodore De St. George, the second officer in the French squadron; and, after a short time, had the satisfaction of seeing himself so well seconded by the Bristol, Captain Montague, that their opponent was quickly dismasted. The issue of this memorable encounter was glorious, and may be comprised in very few words: the whole of the French squadron, consisting of six ships of two decks, including the Gloire, of forty-four guns, besides four frigates, were taken. Mr. Warren was not forgotten on this occasion; his gallantry was rewarded with the order of the Bath, a remuneration for his services, which being honorary only, was, in all probability, more grateful to a man of his well-known generous turn of mind, than one of a more substantial and lucrative nature would have been. In the month of July following, Sir Peter, being stationed with a squadron to cruise off Cape Finisterre, fell in with, on the 21st of that month, four valuable merchant ships, convoyed by two French ships of war, which ran into a bay on the Island of Sisargo. Sir Peter, pursuing them, the whole ran ashore; one of the ships of war, mounting forty-

four guns, was fired by the crew, and blew up before the boats of the squadron could get on board; but the merchant ships were got off the next day, and carried into Plymouth. On the following day, Sir Peter was informed, by the captain of a privateer, that he had, on the 17th and 18th of the same month, chaced a large fleet of coasters into Sediere Bay, a small port to the westward of Cape Ortegal; he, therefore, by the advice of Captain Harrison, of the Monmouth, dispatched Captain Roddam, in the Viper sloop of fourteen guns, with the Hunter dogger, and the privateer, to endeavour to take or destroy them. Captain Roddam accordingly stood into the Bay, and, with great resolution, attacked a small battery, which he soon silenced. He then landed, spiked up the guns, and destroyed the battery, after which he burnt twenty-eight sail of small vessels, and, two days afterwards, rejoined the admiral, with five others, and a Spanish privateer. Sir Peter, to testify his approbation of Captain Roddam's spirited conduct, recommended him so strongly to the Admiralty, that he was immediately made post captain, in the Greyhound frigate. On the 8th of July, Sir Peter's squadron chaced and drove on shore another French frigate of thirty-six guns, about eight leagues westward of Cape Pinas; and on the 15th of the same month he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white squadron.

Sir Peter sailed again from Spithead, on a cruise, on the 2d of September, but, falling sick, was compelled to quit his command, and retire to his country-seat, at Westbury, in Hampshire. This was the last service he ever lived to perform; for peace being concluded in the ensuing year, the fleet was of course dismantled; and he lived not to see a renewal of those times, when services like his own were needed. Few men ever attained, or better deserved a greater share of popularity. He had not only the singular happiness of being universally courted, esteemed, and

beloved; but had the additional consolation of having passed through life without making, as far as we can investigate, a single enemy. At the general election in 1747, Sir Peter was chosen representative in parliament for the city of Westminster; and, on the 12th of May, 1748, was promoted to be vice-admiral of the red. In 1752, the death of the lord mayor of London producing a vacancy of alderman for Billingsgate ward, the citizens, who had, at a previous meeting, to shew their respect for Sir Peter Warren, presented him with the freedom of the city, on account of his gallant behaviour at sea, nominated him for their alderman. Sir Peter declined the honour, urging, that his character in life must undoubtedly prevent his being able to discharge, the duties of that important office.

The deputy and common council, not satisfied with this answer, waited on Sir Peter in person, hoping they might prevail on him to accept the office. He received them with great politeness, but still refused complying with their request, saying, it was incompatible with the duty he owed to his king and country, as a naval officer. Notwithstanding this, he was chosen alderman of Billingsgate ward, but paid the fine of five hundred pounds, rather than undertake the office. Immediately after the above event, Sir Peter repaired to his native country, Ireland, where he was unhappily seized with a violent inflammatory fever, which put a period to his existence on the 29th of July, 1752. He was uniformly lamented by all persons, who have joined in agreeing, there could not exist a better and honester man, or a more gallant officer.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (P. 342.)

ADMIRAL BYNG'S INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

WHEREAS the King's pleasure has been signified to us by Mr. Fox, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, that, upon consideration of the several advices which have been received relating to the supposed intention of the French to attack the Island of Minorca, a squadron of ten ships of the line do forthwith sail for the Mediterranean, under your command: and whereas we have appointed the ships named in the margin for this service, you are hereby required and directed immediately to put to sea with such of them as are ready (leaving orders for the rest to follow you as soon as possible), and proceed with the utmost expedition to Gibraltar. Upon your arrival there, you are to inquire whether any French squadron is come through the Straits; and if there is, to inform yourself, as well as possible, of their number and force, and if any of them were transports. And as it is probable they may be destined for North America, and as his Majesty's ships, named in the margin, are either at, or going to Halifax, and are to cruise off Louisbourg and the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, you are immediately to take the soldiers out of so many ships of your squadron, as, together with the ships at, and going to, Halifax, will make a force superior to the French squadron (replacing them with landmen or ordinary seamen from your other ships), and then detach them under the command of Rear-admiral West, directing him to make the best of his way off Louisbourg; and taking the afore-mentioned ships, which he may expect to find there, under his command, to cruise off the said place, and the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and use his utmost endeavours to intercept and seize the aforesaid French ships, or any other ships belonging to the French,

that may be bound to, or returning from that part of North America.

If, upon your arrival at Gibraltar, you shall not gain intelligence of a French squadron having passed the Straits, you are then to go on, without a moment's loss of time, to Minorca; or, if in consequence of such intelligence, you shall detach Rear-admiral West, as before directed, you are to use equal expedition in repairing thither with the ships which shall remain with you; and if you find any attack made upon that island by the French, you are to use all possible means in your power for its relief. If you find no such attack made, you are to proceed off Toulon, and station your squadron in the best manner you shall be able for preventing any ships getting out of that port; or for intercepting and seizing any that may get out; and you are to exert the utmost vigilance therein, and in protecting Minorca and Gibraltar from any hostile attempts.

You are also to be vigilant for protecting the trade of his Majesty's subjects from being molested, either by the French or by cruizers from Morocco, or any other of the Barbary states; and for that purpose to appoint proper convoys and cruizers.

You are likewise to be as attentive as possible to the intercepting and seizing, as well ships of war and privateers, as merchant ships belonging to the French, wherever they may be met with, within the limits of your command. But, in pursuance of the king's order in council, you are not to suffer any of the ships of your squadron to take any French vessels out of any port belonging to the Ottoman empire, upon any pretence; nor to molest, detain, or imprison, the persons of any of the subjects of the Ottoman empire; and also, not to seize and detain any French ship or vessel whatsoever, which they shall meet with in the Levant Seas, bound from one port to another in those seas, or to or from any ports of Egypt, having any effects of Turks on board.

Upon your arrival in the Mediterranean, you are to take under your command his Majesty's ships and vessels named in the margin, which are at present there.

If any French ships of war should sail from Toulon, and escape your squadron, and proceed out of the Mediterranean, you are forthwith to send, or repair yourself to England, with a proportionable part of the ships under your command; observing, that you are never to keep more ships in the Mediterranean than shall be necessary for executing the service recommended to you.

To enable you to perform the above-mentioned services, you

are to take care to keep the ships and vessels under your command in constant good condition, and to have them cleaned as often as shall be requisite for that purpose.

(Signed) ANSON, BATEMAN,
VILLIERS, EDGECOMBE,
ROWLEY, And
BOSCAWEN, J. CLELAND.

March 30, 1756.

No. II. (P. 369.)

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR JOHN MORDAUNT IN THE YEAR 1757.

GEORGE R.

1st. You shall immediately, upon the receipt of these instructions, repair to the Isle of Wight, where we have appointed ships to convey you, and the forces under your command, to the coast of France; and, so soon as the said forces shall be embarked, you shall accordingly proceed, without loss of time, under convoy of a squadron of our ships of war, to be commanded by our trusty and well-beloved Sir Edward Hawke, knight of the Bath, admiral of the blue squadron of our fleet; whom we have appointed commander-in-chief of our ships to be employed in this expedition; the said admiral, or the commander-in-chief of our said ships for the time being, being instructed to co-operate with you, and be aiding and assisting in all such enterprises, as, by these our instructions, you shall be directed to undertake for our service.

2d. Whereas we have determined, with the blessing of God, to prosecute the just war in which we are engaged against the French king, with the utmost vigour; and it being highly expedient, and of urgent necessity, to make some expedition that may cause a diversion, and engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces, destined to invade and oppress the liberty of the empire, and to subvert the independency of Europe; and, if possible, to make some effectual impression on the enemy, which, by disturbing and shaking the credit of their public loans, impairing the strength and resources of their navy, as well as disconcerting, and in part frustrating their dangerous and extensive operations of war, may reflect lustre on our arms, and add life and strength to the common cause; and whereas we are persuaded, that nothing, in the present situation of affairs, can so speedily and effectually

annoy and distress France, as a successful enterprise against Rochfort; our will and pleasure is, that you do attempt, as far as it shall be found practicable, a descent, with the forces under your command, on the French coast, at or near Rochfort, in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of your power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, that shall be found there, and exert such other efforts, as you shall judge most proper for annoying the enemy.

3d. After the attempt on Rochfort shall either have succeeded or failed; and in case the circumstances of our forces and fleet shall, with prospect of success, still admit of further operations, you are next to consider Port L'Orient and Bourdeaux, as the most important objects of our arms, on the coast of France; and our will and pleasure is, that you do proceed successively to an attempt on both, or either of those places, as shall be judged practicable; or on any other place that shall be thought most advisable, from Bourdeaux homeward to Havre, in order to carry and spread, with as much rapidity as may be, a warm alarm along the maritime provinces of France.

4th. In case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, you shall make yourself master of any place on the coast of France, our will and pleasure is, that you do not keep possession thereof; but that, after demolishing and destroying, as far as may be, all works, defences, magazines, arsenals, shipping, and naval stores, you do proceed, successively, on the ulterior part of this expedition, according as any of them shall be judged advisable, and may be performed with such time as shall be consistent with your return with the troops under your command, so as to be in England at, or about, or as near as may be, the latter end of September, unless the circumstances of our forces and fleet shall necessarily require their return sooner; and you are to land the troops at Portsmouth, or such other of our ports as the exigency of the case may suggest.

5th. Whereas it is necessary, that, upon certain occasions, you should have the assistance of a council of war, we have thought fit to appoint such a council, which shall consist of four of our principal land officers, and of an equal number of our principal sea-commanders, including the commanders in chief of our land and sea forces, except in cases happening at land, relating to the carrying on any military operations, to be performed by our land forces only, in which cases you may call a council of war, consisting of such officers of our land forces as you shall think proper, and all such land and sea officers, in the several cases before mentioned, are hereby respectively directed,

from time to time, to be aiding and assisting with their advice, so often as they shall be called together by you, or by the commander in chief of our squadron, for that purpose; and in all such councils of war, when assembled, the majority of voices shall determine the resolutions thereof; and, in case the voices shall happen to be equal, the president shall have the casting vote.

6th. And whereas the success of this expedition will very much depend upon an entire good understanding between our land and sea officers, we do hereby strictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate such good understanding and agreement; and to order that the soldiers under your command should man the ships when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the land service; as the commander in chief of our squadron is instructed on his part, to entertain and cultivate the same good understanding and agreement; and to order the sailors and marines, and also the soldiers serving as a part of the complements of our ships, to assist our land forces, if judged expedient, by taking post on shore, manning batteries, covering the boats, securing the safe re-embarkation of the troops and such other service as may be consistent with the safety of our fleet. And in order to establish the strictest union that may be between you and the commander in chief of our ships, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, and he will be directed to communicate, those he shall receive, to you.

You shall from time to time, and as you shall have opportunity, send constant accounts of your proceedings in execution of these our instructions, to one of our principal Secretaries of State, from whom you will receive such further orders and directions as we may think proper to give you.

END OF VOL. IV.

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